SOCIAL
FORCES

Featuring Race and Regions

SOCIAL FORCES

CONTENTS FOR DECEMBER, 1947

CONTRIBUTED ARTICLES

DEPARTMENTAL CONTRIBUTIONS

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF
MANAGEMENT
IN THE BELL SYSTEM

It used to be that the owners of practically every business were themselves the managers of the business. Today, as far as large businesses are concerned, a profound change has taken place. In the Bell System, for instance, employee management, up from the ranks, and not owner management, is responsible for running the business.

This management has been trained for its job in the American ideal of respect for the individual and equal opportunity for each to develop his talents to the fullest. A little thought will bring out the important significance of these facts.

Management is, of course, vitally interested in the success of the enterprise it manages, for if it doesn't succeed, it will lose its job.

So far as the Bell System is concerned, the success of the enterprise depends upon the ability of management to carry on an essential nation-wide telephone service in the public interest.

This responsibility requires that management act as a trustee for the interest of all concerned: the millions of telephone users, the hundreds of thousands of employees, and the hundreds of thousands of stockholders. Management necessarily must do the best it can to reconcile the interests of these groups.

Of course, management is not infallible; but, with its intimate knowledge of all the factors, management is in a better position than anybody else to consider intelligently and act equitably for each of these groups—and in the Bell System there is every incentive for it to wish to do so.

Certainly in the Bell System there is no reason either to underpay labor or overcharge customers in order to increase the "private profits of private employers," for its profits are limited by regulation. In fact, there is no reason whatever for management to exploit or to favor any one of the three great groups as against the others and to do so would be plain stupid on the part of management.

* * *

The business cannot succeed in the long run without well-paid employees with good working conditions, without adequate returns to investors who have put their savings in the enterprise, and without reasonable prices to the customers who buy its services. On the whole these conditions have been well-met over the years in the Bell System.

Admittedly, this has not been and is not an easy problem to solve fairly for all concerned. However, collective bargaining with labor means that labor's point of view is forcibly presented. What the investor must have is determined quite definitely by what is required to attract the needed additional capital, which can only be obtained in competition with other industries.

And in our regulated business, management has the responsibility—together with regulatory authorities—to see to it that the rates to the public are such as to assure the money, credit and plant that will give the best possible telephone service at all times.

More and better telephone service at a cost as low as fair treatment of employees and a reasonable return to stockholders will permit is the aim and the responsibility of management in the Bell System.

WALTER S. GIFFORD, *President*
AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY

SOCIAL FORCES

December, 1947

RACE, VALUES, AND GUILT*

CORNELIUS L. GOLIGHTLY

Olivet College

INTRODUCTION

THE anomaly between the caste status of American Negroes and the democratic philosophy raises the question of the nature and extent of guilt which white Americans experience over race discrimination. The American people as a whole profess belief in the democratic ethics, the meaning of which is unequivocal. Postulates of equality, justice, and fair opportunity for everyone are stated clearly in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and in numerous other historical and contemporary writings. In fact, the democratic creed has been described as the most explicitly expressed system of general ideas in reference to human interrelations existing in any country of western civilization and more widely understood and appreciated than similar ideals are anywhere else.[1]

On the other hand, race discrimination is so firmly fixed in the American social order that social scientists have begun to describe the position of the Negro as that of a lower caste. A. L. Kroeber defines caste in the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences as an "endogamous and hereditary subdivision of an ethnic unit occupying a position of superior rank or esteem in comparison with other subdivisions."[2] The subordinate position of the Negro in America corresponds to that of a lower caste as defined by Kroeber and by other ethnologists and anthropologists.[3] Throughout America privileges and opportunities are unequally distributed between the Negro and white groups. The whites receive the larger portion of economic and social rewards and are superordinate in power and prestige.[4] In the South and also in a few states of the North each of the groups is endogamous, i.e., marriage between them is forbidden, and any children of extra-legal sex relations are relegated to the subordinate group. In those states where intermarriage is permitted, the offspring of such legal unions are still automatically placed in the Negro group. Each individual is born into the Negro or white group and he can neither earn nor work himself out. These characteristic features of a caste system are enforced in the South by laws requiring segregation in all major areas of intergroup life.[5] In the North the caste lines are not legally sanctioned; nevertheless, they are effectively held intact by personal prejudices.[6]

Gunnar Myrdal uses the concept "caste" in defining the Negro's position in America and rejects the terms "race," "class," "minority group,"

* The author is indebted to Dr. Ben Karpman, Senior Medical Officer and Psychotherapist, St. Elizabeths Hospital, for his encouragement in this attempt at blending the categories of ethics and psychoanalysis. However, Dr. Karpman is not responsible for the ideas presented here and is not necessarily in agreement with them.

[1] Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (2 vols. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), p. 3.

[2] Quoted by Allison Davis, B. B. Gardner, and M. R. Gardner, *Deep South* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), p. 9.

[3] See, for example, the anthropological study by John Dollard, *Class and Caste in a Southern Town* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937).

[4] For documentary proof see Richard Sterner, *The Negro's Share* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943).

[5] See Charles S. Mangum, Jr., *The Legal Status of the Negro* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940) and G. S. Stephenson, *Race Distinctions In American Law* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1910).

[6] For description of such behavior see Charles S. Johnson, *Patterns of Negro Segregation* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943).

and "minority status" as inadequate. "We need a term," he writes, "to distinguish the large and systematic type of social differentiation from the small and spotty type and have . . . used the term 'caste'."[7] He elaborates this position as follows:

When we say that Negroes form a lower caste in America, we mean that they are subject to certain disabilities really because they are "Negroes" in the rigid American definition and not because they are poor and ill-educated. It is true, of course, that their caste position keeps them poor and ill-educated, on the average, and there is a complete circle of causation, but in any concrete instance at any time there is little difficulty in deciding whether a certain disability or discrimination is due to a Negro's poverty or lack of education, or his caste position.[8]

The wide discrepancy between the ideals of democracy and the actuality of the caste system is not *prima facie* evidence that white Americans have guilt feelings over the matter. Guilt is an emotion, a feeling of reproach or condemnation arising from the omission or commission of deeds both actually or imaginatively. The deeds always involve a choice of values and the willful failure to choose the correct value is construed as a failure to do one's duty. Duty is the feeling of oughtness; guilt arises when the feeling of oughtness is violated. Thus guilt stems from the super-ego or conscience and is in the final analysis the product of society. It follows that white Americans would feel guilty about race discrimination if the society or group as a whole disapproved of caste.

However, the structuration of race discrimination into a cultural form clearly definable as caste indicates that the society as a whole permits or sanctions such behavior. Caste is given legal approval in the numerous segregation laws which are upheld by decisions of the United States Supreme Court. Restrictive housing covenants are legally valid in a number of states. It is indeed hard to deny that in America race discrimination is based on permissive patterns of behavior although such behavior contradicts the democratic ethics.[9] Why does the society sanc-

tion two mutually contradictory modes of behavior?

Clyde Kluckhohn, in his studies of cultural forms in Southwestern Indian ethnology,[10] has used a modified version of the so-called functionalist school of anthropology (Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown, and Durkheim) with great success. According to Kluckhohn, cultural forms persist only because in some sense they constitute responses which are "adaptive" in that they contribute to the survival of the society or its members, or "adjustive" in that they remove motivations stimulating the individual. Suicide is adjustive but not adaptive; hence the two concepts are not denotatively identical. If we place race discrimination or caste within this interpretative framework, we can postulate that American caste persists as a cultural form only because in some sense it contributes to the survival of the white society or its members. In addition, caste or race discrimination helps the white individual to adjust or adapt, i.e., facilitates responses which remove motivations stimulating him. Thus, race discrimination has survival value for the society and adjustive value for the individual.

This puts a new light on the problem of guilt. Race discrimination is not simply a disvalue or non-value (sin, evil, wrong) but is actually a source of genuine value or good to the superordinate group which practices it. Thus, the moral platitudes of democracy may be considered as only one kind of value competing with another kind of value, that of race discrimination or caste. Guilt is present in white Americans only to the extent to which they feel that they have chosen the wrong values. We shall examine in turn the values of caste and the values of democratic ideals for white Americans. Our conclusions about guilt feelings will be based upon the manner in which white Americans resolve the conflict between the two sets of values. But first let us examine value itself.

THE NATURE OF VALUE

Value is generic to all human activity and there is no phase of human life which is devoid of value or the possibility of value. The polarity of value and non-value is present wherever there is human

[7] Myrdal, *op. cit.*, p. 667.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 669.

[9] See Mangum, *op. cit.*; Stephenson, *op. cit.*; Carey McWilliams, "Race Discrimination and the Law," *Science and Society*, IX (Winter 1945); and R. C. Weaver, "Race Restrictive Housing Covenants," *Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics* (August 1944), pp. 183–193.

[10] Clyde Kluckhohn, *Navaho Witchcraft*, Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Vol. XXII, No. 2, 1944.

life. Human life is characterized by an experiential process which seems to consist in the perpetual resolution of states of tension. The human animal organism is a bundle of desires or appetitions, organic and social, which seek satisfactions. If there were no desires or appetitions there would be no life, and if there were only desires or appetitions and no satisfactions, the result would soon be death. States of hunger, thirst, tumescence, excitation, ambition, etc. and their consequent satisfactions, either direct or substitute, characterize life everywhere. The process of satisfying these states of tension—drives, desires, wishes, biologic needs, urges, or requirements—is the generic root of value in its most general and abstract sense.[11]

The definition of value as the satisfaction of desire implies that a value is always an experience, never a thing or an object. The satisfaction of desire is the real value; the thing that serves is only an instrument. Things may be valuable but they are not values. In the words of Professor Parker, "It is convenient to speak of things as having value, but it must not be forgotten that this is only a *façon de parler*; things do not really have value; they only borrow value from the satisfactions corresponding."[12]

The assertion that race discrimination is a source of value to white Americans means simply that caste provides satisfactory responses or rewards for drives or needs innate to human beings or acquired by them through the process of socialization and everyday living in a society. The identification of value with satisfaction is not to deny qualitative differences between a sadistic value like the satisfaction of a desire to lynch a Negro and a moral value like the satisfaction of a desire to serve one's country; yet sadistic impulse and patriotic desire are specifically different desires. One still has room for a hierarchy of values ranging from the bodily to the esthetic to the scientific to the moral to the religious.

Guilt arises when the hierarchy is violated; but the location of social values in the scale is not transcendentally fixed. Thus one cannot say *a priori* that a white man who chooses a lynching in preference to legal justice for a Negro will have guilt feelings. The lynching may be higher in the social scale of values than justice; and caste may be higher in the scale than the democratic creed. The problem is empirical; one must indicate on the basis of existing evidence what choices seem to have general social approval.

FRUSTRATION AND AGGRESSION AS A VALUE SEQUENCE

The outstanding characteristic of race discrimination is that it is aggressive behavior on the part of one individual or group against another individual or group. The maintenance of any caste system, no matter how benevolent, is an assault upon the ego and self-regard of members of the subordinate group. In America caste segregation is aggression against the personal liberty and rights of the Negro to participate in the social, economic, political, and educational life of the nation. If caste is a form of value it must be demonstrated that aggression, and particularly the aggression of discrimination, is a satisfaction or form of value.

To make a broad structural comparison, the frustration-aggression sequence is here conceived as identical in kind to the drive-reward or desire-satisfaction sequence. The sequence of frustration and aggression is thought to be more or less innate in a very primitive form, although the sequence of frustration and substitute response is probably learned.[13] As John Dollard, *et. al.*, state the theory, "... *aggression is always a consequence of frustration.* More specifically the proposition is that the occurrence of aggressive behavior always presupposes the existence of frustration and, contrariwise, that the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression."[14]

Except in the case of death, frustration, unlike reward or satisfaction, is not the termination of a drive or desire, but is actually its continuance. Living frustration is the generic state of tension or disequilibrium into which all desires or drives are transmuted when they are thwarted. Aggression is the satisfaction of frustration. The process of aggression is, therefore, a value.

Yet, aggression is not a primary or first order value but rather it is a substitute or second order

[11] The functionalist school of anthropology uses the same notion of value when they speak of cultural forms as satisfying biological and derived needs. See Kluckhohn, *op. cit.*, and the writings of Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown, and Durkheim.

[12] Dewitt H. Parker, *Human Values* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1931), p. 21.

[13] L. W. Doob, *The Plans of Men* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), p. 134.

[14] John Dollard, *et. al.*, *Frustration and Aggression* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939), p. 1. Their italics.

value. A primary or first order satisfaction and even a "substitute response" reduces the instigation to the original goal-response. On the other hand, aggressive action "reduces only the secondary instigation to aggression set up by the frustration and does not have any effect on the strength of the original instigation."[15]

In a concrete and practical sense frustration and its satisfaction in aggression is the basis of all values derived from race discrimination. Discrimination against the Negro is aggressive behavior arising out of frustrations like lack of social status, achievement, dominance, recognition, etc. Caste confers these social values on all whites but they are second order or substitute values because they are not arrived at through the process of open competition. Actually, caste satisfies only the need for aggression. Understanding the American caste system as a source of value involves an analysis in the etiology of cultural frustrations.

CONSCIOUS AND UNCONSCIOUS FRUSTRATIONS

In America, and perhaps in any society, there are two distinct kinds of frustrations, those encountered first in childhood as a result of the process of socialization and the frustrations of adulthood which are incidental to life in a competitive and class-structured society. Frustrations of adulthood are frequently conscious, many of them falling under the familiar rubrics of economic, social, and political deprivations. Even among white Americans there are poverty, unemployment, lower social classes, poll tax disfranchisement, lack of adequate schooling, medical and dental care, hospitalization, and suitable recreational facilities. The report of the National Resources Committee dealing with consumer incomes in the United States summarized the distribution of incomes of twenty-nine million families in this country for 1935–36 as follows: "Fourteen percent of all families received less than $500 during the year studied, forty-two percent received less than $1500, and eighty-seven percent less than $2500."[16] Inflation and postwar unemployment are serving to maintain the human misery of these income levels despite temporary wartime gains.

Aside from actual deprivations there are in-numerable conscious adult frustrations that hinge on sex, employer-employee relations, family relations, community prestige, etc. The highly competitive society in which we live generates frustration for the Methodist minister who is not placed in the particular church which he desires, for the assistant professor who does not have enough publications to qualify for promotion, for the Harvard professor who cannot compete economically with the business men in his own Boston social clique, for the opera tenor who earns less than Frank Sinatra, and for some whites who by definition belong to the upper caste but who objectively are inferior economically and educationally to some Negroes. These numerous frustrations have their attendant hostile impulses and satisfactions in displaced aggression against the Negro.

Socialization as commonly used is the process by which the child born only potentially human becomes human by learning reputable and socially approved manners and morals (folkways and mores). Although most of the essential elementary steps in socialization take place in early childhood, the process seems to be continuous in a diverse culture like America where adults moving into strange regions of the country must learn to conform to the behavioral modes of new communities. In no society is socialization attained without frustration and in every society individuals experience some deprivation. Socialization is society's supreme assault on the ego.

For the child, socialization is a traumatic experience; nearly all of it consists in thwarting the direct expression of basic animal desires. Cleanliness training develops some rules governing excretory functions. Weaning changes the eating habits of the infant. Early sex interest is vigorously punished, etc. Thus, childhood seems to be a process of developing patterns of frustrations. My central thesis about childhood frustrations is that they continue in some sense into adulthood. Although the societal conventions are supposed to provide adequate substitute forms for the direct and uninhibited satisfaction of primary biological and psychological drives,[17] an aura of frustration surrounds the non-infantile expression of basic animal drives.[18] Adulthood is lived in the shadow

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[16] National Resources Committee, *Consumer Incomes in the United States: Their Distribution in 1935–36* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1938), p. 3.

[17] Dollard, *et. al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

[18] S. Freud, *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis* (trans. by G. S. Hall, New York: Bain and Live-right, 1920), p. 274 and *passim.*

of the traumatic experiences of birth, weaning, suppression of the desire for exploratory dominance, bowel and bladder training, suppression of early sex behavior, sex typing as boy and girl,[19] aged grading, and the frustrations of school and adolescence.

These frustrations generate hostile impulses throughout adulthood. Frustration and hostility seemingly are the eternal price we pay for being human. However, these frustrations and hostile impulses resulting from socialization are not always experienced consciously. Because they are acquired early and are based on the habitual and forced repression of basic drives, they linger in the unconscious. Some aggression may be objectively identifiable to others as having definite roots in the unconscious, yet this knowledge will be below the threshold of consciousness of the aggressor.

The supreme value of American caste lies in the fact that it is an artificial structure by means of which the white society provides culturally approved channels for satisfactions denied within the group. The permissiveness of race discrimination, amply attested by the elaborate legal and extra-legal codes which support it, is based on the fact that the society, as it were, senses the existence of frustrations and repressed hostile impulses for which it is responsible. The white group as a whole seems to know that human beings harbor hostile impulses against other humans and have a need for hate satisfaction. Therefore, in order to prevent endemic neuroticism and yet at the same time to protect itself, white society channels the expression of hostility away from the in-group of whites to the out-group of non-whites.

To put it as broadly as possible, American caste as a socially approved channel for the expression of hostility is but one example of a universal scapegoat pattern. Every society has some group on which its people blame their troubles. Puritan America had its "witches"; contemporary America has its Negroes, recently supplemented by the "Communists." The scapegoat may be chosen at random or for irrational reasons and the aggression as a consequence may be displaced. Nevertheless, this cultural pattern serves its specific

function. Freud has commented on the many instigations to aggression which one pays as the price for living in civilized groups.[20] Were there no Negroes in America, probably there would still be some minority systematically discriminated against because of class, creed, or national origin.

SOCIALIZATION FRUSTRATIONS AND CASTE AGGRESSIONS

At the most general level of interpretation a relation seems to exist between socialization as a class or series of frustrations and caste as a class or series of aggressions. In America socialization represents an assault on the ego of the child and caste represents a similar assault on the ego of the Negro. Socialization is a process in which the individual white American is dominated by the group and caste is a system in which the Negro is dominated by the white. A basic feature of caste is that the majority exercises power and control over the freedom or personal liberty of the minority. Caste thus serves as a means of compensation for ego frustrations that all whites experience as a result of socialization and socialized living. Caste makes every white American automatically dominant, by definition, and gratifies the will to power denied expression within the white group. These drives, which essentially are hostile to the harmonious working relations of the white society, are thereby channeled in the direction of non-whites. The system also provides feelings of superiority for all whites since any white is socially superior to any Negro.

However, it cannot be maintained that caste is a direct realization of self-centered, egoistic behavior traits with which man is genetically endowed,[21] nor of the natural drive for social dominance which is a feature of all animal group life.[22] A white person receives the rewards of caste as a gift of birth in an artificial and highly protected system, not as a result of achievement in open competition. Thus in this sense, too, the

[19] See the provocative book, *Modern Woman: The Lost Sex*, by F. Lundberg and M. F. Farnham (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1947), for a recent account of how frustrating this can be for some females, child or adult.

[20] S. Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents* (trans. by Joan Riviere. London: Hogarth Press, 1930), pp. 85–92.

[21] See T. H. Huxley, *Evolution and Ethics and other Essays* (London: Macmillan, 1894), and E. Haeckel, *Freie Wissenschaft und Freie Lehre* (Stuttgart: E. Schweizerhart, 1878. Translated, *Freedom in Science and Teaching*. New York: D. Appleton Century, 1879).

[22] See W. C. Allee, *The Social Life of Animals* (New York: Norton, 1938).

social dominance and ego gratifications of the white individual are second order satisfactions. A first order satisfaction of the desire for social status is possible only when one rates socially with his peers. For this reason the satisfactions of caste are greater when their roots remain hidden in the unconscious. When they become conscious, the white person often recognizes them as substitute gratifications and tends then to repudiate them. A fear of losing even a fictional gratification may be the cause of the willful blindness about the function of caste on the part of many white Americans.

It is true, of course, that there are aggressive satisfactions other than those provided by the caste system. Hostility can be directed against the self as well as against others.[23] Social withdrawal or leaving the field, flight from reality through use of narcotics, hypochondria, crime, and aggression against other whites are some examples. Some whites may reverse the caste pattern and express their aggressions by working in behalf of Negroes. From this point of view some philanthropy and intermarriages may be interpreted as hostility on the part of some whites toward the entire white caste. However, only the caste aggressions have general cultural permission or social approval. It is in this area of permissive discrimination that one is able to observe determinate relationships existing between several specific patterns of frustrations arising from socialization traumas and several specific patterns of aggressive race restrictions. It will be immediately apparent that the motivations for these specific caste aggressions lie deep within the unconscious.

First, there seems to be a definite relationship between the frustrations of early cleanliness training and the resistance to the joint use of toilet facilities which is a major feature of the caste system in America. Freud has shown that the imposition of toilet training or forced sphincter control is a vital frustration of the child's goal responses of mastery and self-esteem.[24] This frustration carries over into adult life in the form of anxieties, fears, and hostilities. The cleanliness taboo of the segregated toilet thus becomes an irrational but aggressive compensation for the fears and frustrations of childhood.

A similar relationship seems to exist between American social patterns dealing with the learning of new food habits and the segregation of eating places. Scholars have shown and parents have found in daily experience that the process of weaning is frustrating to the child.[25] Not only is the original feeding habit of sucking interrupted, but substitute satisfactions for the lip-mouth response component are vigorously punished. It is possible that there is always an element of anxiety, rooted in the expectation of deprivation or punishment, that accompanies the eating process throughout adulthood. Anxiety may merge with fear—the actual feeling of danger and dread—and thus lead to the pattern of displaced aggression which is a feature of the segregated eating place.

However, the most determinate of all relationships appears to be that existing between the social conditioning of early sex behavior and the prohibition against intermarriage. Interference with the pleasurable gratification of early sex desire is the supreme trauma of childhood, for, unlike other drives, there are no socially approved substitute responses. Hence many white Americans live in the shadow of unconscious fear, anxiety, and insecurity originating from the threats and punishments of early sex training. The protective devices of the sex-caste system alleviate the painful drive of sexual jealousy and compensate the white male for unconscious feelings of impotence and inadequacy. Inherent here is also an instance of the universal phenomenon of the fear that the ingroup women will mate with outsiders, a phenomenon which some writers have suggested is best explained in terms of the Oedipus complex.[26] Channeling this fear solely in the direction of Negroes and then effectively preventing such outgroup mating by legal means leaves open the entire area of marriage to all whites. If there were no Negroes, intermarriage barriers might be set even more rigidly along class lines than they are now. Thus, the aggression against the right of the Negro to marry whom he pleases is essential to the smooth functioning of a white democracy riddled with sex insecurities.

The function and value of caste in America is that of a socially approved psychological mechanism providing aggressive second order satis-

[23] See K. Menninger, *Man Against Himself* (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1938).

[24] S. Freud, *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis* pp. 272–273.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 274; and D. M. Levy, "Thumb or Finger-sucking from the Psychiatric Angle," *Child Development*, Vol. 8 (1937), pp. 99–101.

[26] N. E. Miller and J. Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), p. 293. Also see Freud, *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis*, pp. 288–296.

factions for frustrated desires which have been transmuted into hostile impulses. It is a societal form of neuroticism in which fear of the Negro is a product of projected hatred. Whites impute hatred to Negroes because they themselves hate; whites project inferiority because they themselves feel inferior. Yet caste is definitely a value system. Let us next contrast the social appraisal of these values with the valuation of the democratic creed. Thus we shall provide a basis for approaching the problem of guilt.

THE VALUE OR FUNCTION OF DEMOCRATIC IDEALS

The continued existence in America of democratic ideals obviously incompatible with the culturally approved caste system indicates that these ideals, like caste, are of value to the United States and its citizens. The American creed of "one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all" is a "social myth" which functions as an integrating factor in a class structured society and as an impelling force in the historical movement of American nationalism. According to Georges Sorel in his *Reflexions sur la Violence*[27] the social myth supplies the emotional and volitional drive that gives a group cohesion and enables it to put its energies into play. The masses of men are stirred into persevering and heroic action, not by practical or scientific demonstrations of some rationally desirable goal, but only by appeal to the imagination. The American Dream fires the imagination of the masses of Americans and holds intact a great and disparate nation. Without the symbolism of the democratic philosophy America might degenerate into a divided nation fighting a civil war frankly along class lines and over fascist issues.

The power of the democratic myth as a cohesive force is demonstrated by the fact that even the most downtrodden of the nation believe in it as firmly as those on the upper levels of security. One political scientist observes,

> Every man in the street, white, black, red or yellow, knows that this is "the land of the free," the "land of opportunity," the "cradle of liberty," the "home of democracy," that the American flag symbolizes the "equality of all men" and guarantees to us all "the

protection of life, liberty, and property," "freedom of speech," "freedom of religion and racial tolerance."[28]

The Dutch observer, Bertram Schrieke,[29] and the Swedish social scientist, Gunnar Myrdal,[30] have also commented upon the uncritical and unsophisticated acceptance of American ideals by all creeds, classes, and races of Americans.

American participation in the recent war was another chapter in American nationalism which strengthened the common man's feeling of the historical mission of the United States in world affairs. Total warfare was possible for Americans only on the assumption that World War II was an ideological conflict, a clash between different and irreconcilable ways of life. The war might not have been fought willingly or wholeheartedly had they interpreted it simply as imperialistic strife, a determined effort to retain or secure exports markets, or as the clash of competing drives toward higher standards of living.

Historians like George Bancroft,[31] Frederick J. Turner,[32] and James Truslow Adams[33] have asserted that the American dream has been largely responsible for the development of the United States as a world power. American nationalism, past and present, has been identified with democratic ideals.[34]

Just as the American creed is of immense value to the nation as a whole because it functions as an integrating or cementing factor and as an historical, impelling force, it is also of value to individuals. All white American individuals participate in the American dream of success even though the sharing is only at the level of imagination and not at the

[27] Georges Sorel, *Reflexions sur la Violence* (Paris, 1905); translated by T. E. Hulme under title of *Reflections on Violence* (New York: Viking Press, 1914)

[28] Ralph Bunche, as quoted in Myrdal, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

[29] *Alien Americans* (New York: Viking Press, 1936), p. 149.

[30] *Op. cit.*, chap. 1 and *passim*.

[31] See his "Memorial Address on the Life and Character of Abraham Lincoln, delivered at the Request of Both Houses of the Congress of America, Before Them, in the House of Representatives at Washington on the 12th of February, 1866" (Washington, D. C., 1866).

[32] See his *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1921), pp. 281–282.

[33] See his *Epic of America* (Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1931), p. 405.

[34] Myrdal gives a summary of the American historians' conception of the relationship between American Nationalism and the democratic philosophy, *op. cit.*, pp. 5–8.

level of concrete reality. Again, this is consistent with Sorel's interpretation of the value of a social myth. Furthermore, verbal allegiance to the symbolism of democracy is the satisfaction of some basic human desires. Social scientists have long agreed that just as man apparently is genetically endowed with certain self-centered egoistic behavior traits, he is also endowed with, or acquires very early, other group-centered, altruistic drives. These drives are frequently in conflict; yet man's altruistic drives toward being a cooperative animal are seemingly firmly rooted in behavior tendencies common among animals.[35] The American creed symbolizes moral values, and adherence to it is the satisfaction of man's desire to love and be a part of the social group.

THE CONFLICT OF VALUES: THEORY OF THE AMERICAN DILEMMA

From the point of view of logic there is a conflict between the realities of the caste system and the ideals of democracy. Logically it seems that the conflict of values can be resolved honestly in only two ways: either by destroying American caste or by relinquishing the democratic ethics. This is the thesis of Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma*. The dilemma is:

> ... the ever raging conflict between, on the one hand, the valuations preserved on the general plane which we shall call the "American Creed," where the American thinks, talks, and acts under the influence of high national and Christian precepts, and, on the other hand, the valuations on specific planes of individual and group living, where personal and local interests; economic, social, and sexual jealousies; considerations of community prestige and conformity; group prejudice against particular persons or types of people; and all sorts of miscellaneous wants, impulses, and habits dominate his outlook.[36]

Myrdal introduces the theoretical basis for guilt by asserting that in America, as everywhere, people agree, as an abstract proposition, that "*the more*

[35] For discussion and bibliography see W. C. Allee, "Human Conflict and Co-operation: the Biological Background" in *Approaches to National Unity*, Fifth Symposium of the Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion (L. Bryson, L. Finkelstein and R. M. MacIver, eds. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945), pp. 321–367. For a cultural anthropological account of the operation of this dualism in pre-civilized and civilized human groups see Rushton Coulborn, "Survival of the Fittest in the Atomic Age," *Ethics*, LVII (1947), pp. 235–258.

[36] Myrdal, *op. cit.*, p. xliii. His italics.

general valuations—those which refer to man as such and not to any particular group or temporary situation—are morally higher."[37] Thus, continuation of caste at the expense of the higher order democratic creed is a violation of the moral imperative to choose the higher value. Americans, therefore experience "moral uneasiness" and a "feeling of individual and collective guilt" over the "Negro problem" in the United States.[38]

The theory of an American dilemma with overtones of guilt is, I believe, essentially incorrect. The caste system is a moral problem in the generic sense that all value decisions or choices of goals are normative and imperative. However, moral problems are social and referent to the group, not confined wholly to the individual preference of persons living in the society. Any American who makes a decision about racial discrimination is a member of an organized group from which emanate duty, law, convention, command, or equivalents like ethical and religious creeds governing conduct. If there is loyalty to the group then there is also moral obligation to practice group ideals. The sense of guilt stems directly from the violation of group ideals which the individual has accepted as a member of the group. It has been shown above that America sanctions caste as an approved outlet for aggressiveness lingering in the unconscious. Thus, the society is responsible for caste, and the individual white has no guilt feeling over his personal discrimination against the Negro.[39] Indeed, the individual white citizen is more apt to experience guilt feeling or suffer punishment if he violates caste patterns than if he practices discrimination.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. xliv. His italics.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. xli.

[39] Dr. Leo P. Crespi, in his article "Is Gunnar Myrdal on the Right Track?" *Public Opinion Quarterly* (Summer, 1945), comes to a similar conclusion that American whites have no guilt feeling about caste. He argues that if the white man does experience conflict over the facts of Negro exploitation it is perhaps "psychological" rather than "moral" since in the realm where morality may be presumed to operate, little other than rationalization of Negro prejudices come into play. The term "psychological" fully embraces the facts of suppression, rationalization and unconscious conflict, but unlike the term "moral" needs not imply that the value conflict is necessarily at the level of conscious awareness. Dr. Crespi's interpretation is consistent with my thesis except for the fact that I stress the social permissiveness of caste behavior whereas apparently he does not.

The society as a whole, recognizing the respective values of the caste system and the American creed, never seriously considers the acceptance of one alternative at the expense of the other. The society therefore assumes responsibility for the apparent conflict of competing values and provides mechanisms for reducing incidental guilt feelings which may arise in the minds of the sophisticated or skeptical. The problem of handling such guilt is not too great because of the nature of the conflict: on one hand the values of caste are largely unconscious satisfactions and, on the other, the values of the American creed are imaginary or mythical. Furthermore, the opportunistic desire of most whites for ignorance about the real nature of the conflict, reinforced by racial stereotypes from print, film, and radio, minimizes still more the possibility of guilt.

THE ETHICS OF CASTE

The caste system operates universally in the American society and has the moral sanction of that society. Caste behavior is moral behavior as defined by the American society because in the final analysis all moral principles come from the group. Caste remains because the group allows it to remain and because dominant interests in the group approve of it. Implicit in the mores and folkways of the caste structure is a whole system of ideas rationalizing the patterns of discrimination. This ethics of caste is designed to preserve the unconscious satisfactions derived from Negro exploitation and to pay passing respects to the ideals of the American creed. It is always tacitly understood, however, that the Negro is a scapegoat and an out-group person.

One of America's more realistic social scientists has sought to formulate the ethical system actually at work in America. The hypothetical ideas of democracy are consciously omitted, since by universal agreement they are not applicable to the Negro. Notice in the following formulations that although different credos are given for the South and the North, there is general agreement on keeping the essential features of the caste system:[40]

A. *The Southern Credo*

1. That the Negro was a Negro and would always be that and nothing more.

[40] Howard W. Odum, *Race and Rumors of Race* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1943), pp. 19–20; 42–43.

2. That, being a Negro, and different from the white man he therefore could not be expected ever to measure up to the white man's standards of character and achievement.

3. That, not being capable of full achievement and being of an inferior race, it was logical that he should be kept in an inferior place, which is "his place."

4. It followed that this was a white man's country, and that therefore the white man would dominate in about whatever way he chose. Laws and resolutions only made matters worse.

5. Political equality and equal educational opportunities, if given to the Negro, would lead to social equality and the mixture of races, which was contrary to all the major premises of the southern way of life.

6. Furthermore, political and social equality would lead to the domination of the white South by the Negroes and their northern supporters.

7. Discrimination and segregation, therefore, were necessary to keep the Negro in his place and protect the interests and integrity of the whites.

8. It was assumed, from this point on, by the best of the South, that the Negro, when kept within his rightful sphere, should not be treated unkindly or unjustly.

9. That he should be given fair trials and protected by law.

10. That he should be paid a living wage. Since, however, his standards of living were lower, he could live on less than a white man could.

11. That if given too much pay he would waste the money and get out of bounds to his own harm as well as to the detriment of the South.

12. That the Negro was by nature inclined to criminal behavior, partly bacause of his animal nature and partly because of his irresponsibility and immorality.

13. Moreover, the Negro was better off in the South where he was "understood" and where his best friends were.

14. That, while as a race the Negro was inferior and generally untrustworthy, as an individual he was often honest, loyal, lovable, capable, and even talented and distinguished. Yet this was the exception.

15. That his music, his carefree, patient disposition, his homely philosophy added interest and color and richness to the culture of the South.

16. That recognition should be given to the Negro for having made outstanding progress in many fields since being freed from slavery.

17. Yet the Negro in general was not capable of taking great responsibility or of assuming leadership.

18. That no self-respecting southerner would work under Negro supervision.

19. That if the New Dealers, northerners, and reformers would let the South and the Negro alone, peaceful adjustments of the race problem could be made.

20. That those who were inviting the Negro to discontent and trying to force his participation in industry and politics on an equal basis were fomenting race riots which would hurt both whites and Negroes and the total Nation in the long run.

21. And that, finally, this was not a debatable issue.

B. *The Northern Credo*

1. That it was the duty of America to proclaim equal opportunity for all peoples of the United States and in particular for the Negro whose major American heritage had left him primarily discrimination and segregation.

2. That the Nation, having freed the Negro and having set itself to the task of giving him justice, must not turn back.

3. That the problem, however, was primarily a southern problem and that national efforts must be primarily in the role of seeing that the South did a better job of it than had been true in the past.

4. That the approach to the desired ends was a relatively simple matter of passing some laws, such as those of anti-lynching, or anti-poll tax, or of organizing national groups and agencies, and of promoting effective education and propaganda.

5. But that individually, people from other regions, living in or visiting the South, did not believe in violating the folkways and race etiquette of the region, no matter how much they talked.

6. From this point on, the nation believed in equal opportunity, but upon the invitation of the white man and not on the initiative of the Negro.

7. That the Negro should have the same opportunities and privileges as the white man, as long as he was not competing with the white man.

8. That the Negro should have equal economic opportunities with the white man, provided no individual must be expected to employ a Negro except as a domestic or unskilled laborer, where he might be preferable to a white man.

9. That the Negro should have equal educational opportunities with the white man and should be permitted to attend the same schools and colleges.

10. That the Negro had a right to marry a white person so long as he did not marry into "my family" or the families of friends or relatives.

11. That the Negro had a right to hold political office when he was representing his own race.

12. That the Negro should be permitted to buy or rent property and live in any neighborhood that he wished, provided it was not in a neighborhood where he was not wanted.

13. That the Negro had a right to stay in the same hotel, eat in the same dining room, frequent the same night clubs, etc., with the whites, provided he did not go to those most commonly used by the whites.

14. Nevertheless, the Nation had to be generous, so

what? Of course, the Negro was here and he was the Negro and we always have and always must have the problem. It would work out some way, at some time and place afar off.

These credos presuppose the inferiority of the Negro. The American white finds compensation for his own inferiority feelings and endemic neuroticism is prevented by the fiction of the inferiority of the Negro. Americans must act "as if" the Negro were inferior even when cognizant of overwhelming evidence to the contrary. Repeated assertions of Negro inferiority alleviate guilt feeling over discriminatory treatment. If the Negro is inferior then caste is no abridgment of the democratic ethics since the latter could not apply to Negroes in the same way that it does to whites.

The heart of all this rationalization is the reinterpretation of the concept of human equality[41] and a revised definition of the basic human rights of the Negro. In the revision human equality has meaning only if a basic distinction is made between white and colored. All white men are created equal to each other and all colored men are created equal to each other but all white men are superior to all colored men. Conversely, all colored men are inferior to all white men. It is to be noted that the concept of equality is retained, though slightly modified. This retention enables firm believers in the doctrine to assert that there is no essential abridgment of the democratic ethics.

The clarification of the concept of human equality with the introduction of the concepts of racial superiority and inferiority constitute the cornerstone of theory justifying caste. From it are deduced propositions of the kind which state that whites ought to dominate society because of their superiority and Negroes ought to be segregated because of their inferiority. Segregation and inferiority are the concepts which give definition to the human rights of the Negro. Segrega-

[41] For a dispassionate discussion of what "human equality" can mean as a concept of philosophical analysis or scientific investigation see George Morgan, Jr., "Human Equality," *Ethics* LIII (1943), 115–120. For summary of recent anthropological theory about race see the following trilogy of articles in the *Scientific Monthly* (1943), W. M. Krogman, "What We Do Not Know About Race," pp. 97–104; Robert Redfield "What We Do Know About Race," pp. 193–201; and Allison Davis, "Racial Status and Personality Development," pp. 354–362; also Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish, *Races of Mankind* (New York: Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1943).

tion itself, because predicated on the concept of racial inferiority, is no abridgment of any rights that the Negro possesses as an inferior human being. Another view is that any rights that the Negro possesses in a white dominated society are not innately his but are conferred upon him out of the generosity of the ruling class. Because they are gratuitous they are revocable. Hence, "the Negro has no rights that a white man is bound to respect."

The ethical theory of caste reduces itself to the formula that white superiority justifies measures to insure white supremacy and that Negro inferiority justifies the concept of inferior rights which such measures entail. Conceivably, the caste system is invalidated if the belief in racial superiority is proved false. The task is not as simple as it seems. To prove a belief false in the dry fields of empirical fact is one thing but to disprove the same belief in the fertile minds of those with vested interests is another. The belief is held for many reasons, most of which are not approachable by rational means. The ground most amenable to reason is that of supporting data from empirical studies. Even here the going is hard. The history of scientific writings about the Negro in America reflects the dominant white group's need for rationalization and justification of the system of color caste. Even today some Americans quite frankly set out to prove the inferiority of the Negro.[42]

There are two grounds for the racial superiority myth which are less susceptible than empirical fact to rational demonstration by either proof or disproof. First is the "intuitionist" theory which holds that it is self-evident that the white man is superior and the Negro inferior. There is no need for supporting evidence because the truth of the proposition is "given" to the mind of any normal human being. Anyone not perceiving this is either a fool or a Communist. As long as reason is not introduced, this position is impregnable. We must remember that the doctrine of human equality is defended by some in much the same fashion; anyone not perceiving that it is self-evident that all men are created equal is either a fool or a fascist. Second is the authoritarian point of view which rests upon myth and superstition.

From such irrefutable evidence as the Bible and folklore conclusive proof is drawn for the existence of superior and inferior races. Thus, Christianity, though more precisely writings of the Old Testament, has been posed as the authority for caste and, of course, slavery.

In the discussion in the preceding paragraph there is tacit understanding that the caste ethics stands or falls on the fact of superior and inferior races.[43] Even the arguments held on non-rational grounds come within this agreement and, although not directly assailable, they can be approached by a process of sympathetic re-education. There is another justification of caste which is much more difficult to approach. In this theory the question of the actual superiority or inferiority of races is considered to be relatively unimportant. The white man, whether superior or equal to the Negro, is in the dominant position and therefore has the right to rule as he pleases. Justice, right, and goodness are nothing more than the will of the strong. Might makes right and there the matter ends. "This is a white man's country." From this point of view the American doctrine of caste is quite similar to certain historical doctrines, the *Gorgias* of Plato, for example, as well as to contemporary fascism. As such it is immune to attack from the ordinary channels of reason because the foundation of the belief is not essentially one of rational justification but of power, the power of superior economic and political strength with the implied threat of physical violence.

So far the most effective argument against the fascist dictators of Europe has been the use of superior force, predominantly military might, but basically economic resources buttressed by the prospect of complete political domination at the peace tables. The larger framework of theoretical democracy within which caste operates permits a relatively peaceful struggle for the redistribution of power through the strategy of economic and legal reforms. Sometimes, however, even the American creed is denied and a member of the ruling class speaks as frankly about the nature of American ideals as do General Smuts or Mr. Churchill when they refer to the subject peoples of the British Empire. Consider, for example, the

[42] See a new argument presented by W. T. Couch, "Publisher's Introduction" in *What the Negro Wants* (R. W. Logan, ed. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944), pp. xiii–xvii.

[43] For a detailed discussion of the relationship between beliefs and ethical convictions see C. L. Stevenson's *Ethics and Language* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1944).

following statement by Archibald Rutledge, one of the most distinguished men of letters in the south:

There has been so much foggy talk about democracy that we appear completely to have forgotten that this country is a republic; and if a democracy, a very limited one. Nor would it hurt us to recall Bismarck's saying, "Democracy is government by the kindergarten," and those wise words of Edmund Burke, ... "Pure democracy would be a wicked and criminal thing."[44]

PERSONAL GUILT REDUCING MECHANISMS

Although the American society as a whole sanctions the caste system and assumes moral responsibility for it, some individuals find race discrimination incompatible with their personal set of values. Sometimes these are the social reformers who admit their own responsibility for the evils of caste and therefore work conscientiously to eradicate it. Their approach to the moral problem is a frank and open one even though they experience considerable pressure from the majority group to desist. Occasionally, however, whites find themselves vaguely dissatisfied with the caste system, yet not willing to relinquish the satisfactions derived from discrimination or the idealism of the American Creed. Such persons experience a lowered opinion of the self because of the obvious hypocrisy involved in the deliberate and continued violation of a creed publicly and internationally espoused. These persons experience guilt over their hypocrisy, not about caste.

This secondary source of guilt gives rise to several elaborate guilt reducing mechanisms in order to save face. For the most part they consist of firmly entrenched popular theories which are definitely designed to serve *ad hoc* purposes. Wherever such rationalizations occur there is usually a denial that we have in America a caste system or that the American society as a whole sanctions caste behavior.

Hostility to the Negro is itself occasionally a manifestation of this secondary form of guilt. Through the mechanism of projection, causes of moral discomfort in the conscience of the white man are attributed to the Negro. The white man hates the Negro because the latter makes him feel uncomfortable. Guilt feelings are therefore transmitted into new aggressions and the vicious circle continues. Other mechanisms for reducing guilt

without changing the essential features of the *status quo* are discussed briefly below.

DENIAL THAT DISCRIMINATION EXISTS

One of the simplest mechanisms for escaping responsibility for discrimination is the counter assertion that discrimination does not exist. Such denial can be of two forms, one that objectively there is no difference in treatment accorded Negroes, the other that if there is a difference in treatment the reason is due to Negroes themselves. That is, discrimination is justified by reasons of qualities inherent in Negroes. Thus the Negro is scape-goated for his own discrimination; he lacks the capacity or ambition to take advantage of opportunities when offered.

Recently the National Opinion Research Center conducted a poll of whites on the following question, "Do you think Negroes have the same chance as white people to make a good living in this country?" On a nation-wide basis, 47 percent of all whites interviewed answered this question in the affirmative. Quite significant is the fact that white people living in the South gave a higher "yes" vote than did the Nation—60 per cent.[45]

The refusal to acknowledge that discrimination exists is pathological and cannot be excused solely on the grounds of lack of information. Overwhelming evidence exists to the contrary. However, the poll revealed that the more education one has, the more likely he is to believe that Negroes do not have equal economic opportunities. Seventy-three percent of persons with a college background, 55 per cent of those with a high-school background, and 40 per cent of persons with less education answered "no" to the question.[46]

Significantly, when the question is framed qualitatively in terms of whether Negroes in the United States are being treated *fairly* or *unfairly*, the majority of American whites always answer in the affirmative. However, there is a possibility that lurking in these affirmations is qualification that Negroes are being treated fairly *as Negroes*, or as fairly *as they deserve to be treated.*

Another aspect of the denial of discrimination is the bold assertion that segregation is not discrimination, a position repeatedly upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States. It is not necessary to discuss the legal concept of "separate

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[44] Archibald Rutledge, "What if the South Should Be Right," *American Mercury* (December, 1944), p. 686.

[45] Reported in the *Denver Post*, March 12, 1944.
[46] *Ibid.*

but equal accommodations," for it was never seriously intended that segregated facilities be equal. In fact, if they are to be equal, there is no point in their being separate. The United States Army recognized this when it decided that equally trained Negro officers were necessary to the winning of the war. Except for the Air Corps, Negroes and whites attended the same officer candidate schools all over the Nation.

A variation of the "segregation is not discrimination theme" is the argument that segregation is actually of benefit to the Negro. The following statement by a southern liberal will serve as a source of perplexed wonder and amazement for years to come: "But I have also argued, and see no reason to change my view, that 'no worse punishment for Negro children in the south could be imagined than to send them to schools with white children.' I believe that if complete elimination of segregation could be accomplished overnight ... the consequences would be disastrous for everyone and more so for the Negro than the white man."[47]

GRADUALISM VERSUS RADICAL CHANGE

The philosophy of gradualism is a conscience-saving device for liberals who acknowledge publicly the need for change, yet hold vested interest in the *status quo*. If reforms can be admitted to be necessary, but the day of change indefinitely postponed, lip service is paid to the ethical ideal, and the caste barriers remain intact. It is revealing that outstanding southern liberals frequently become reactionary when the forces of progress gain momentum and those reforms which they have sponsored actually seem about to be realized. During the course of World War II when Negroes were scoring amazing economic gains several famous southern liberals wrote articles frankly hostile to Negroes.[48]

[47] W. T. Couch, *Publisher's Introduction*, in Logan, *op. cit., p. xx.*
[48] See Virginius Dabney, "Nearer and Nearer the Precipice," *Atlantic Monthly* (January, 1943), pp. 94–100, and John Temple Graves, "Southern Negro and the War Crisis," *Virginia Quarterly Review* (October, 1942), pp. 500–517. A "southern liberal" may be defined as any southerner who supports a "progressive" political program such as the New Deal, who deplores poll taxes and lynchings, and who advocates a constant improvement in the Negro's side of Jim Crow provided such improvement does not lead to a breakdown of the whole structure of southern race

Gradualism may result in a few grudging gains for the lower caste over a long period of years. However, in most instances gradualism has no meaning other than preservation of caste lines. You don't give a man a job "gradually," either he gets it or he does not. A man either votes or he does not; a man is either a first class citizen or he is not. There are some issues which are forced; only direct change can make a difference. The philosophy of gradualism makes no change in such cases. It merely postpones indefinitely the day of decision.

William Graham Sumner's concepts, "folkways" and "mores,"[49] are often invoked in defense of the attitude that change will be slow, or, more particularly, that nothing practical can be done about caste. In the latter sense they serve as excellent guilt reducing mechanisms because race discrimination is thereby removed completely beyond the jurisdiction of ethics. If nothing can be done about a matter then there is no responsibility for the matter. Obedience to duty is required only when there is freedom to obey. Thus if the folkways and mores of caste are immutable, then intelligent Americans are completely absolved of any guilt related to race discrimination.

The classic statement of the immutability of folkways and mores was given by Mark Ethridge, southern liberal and publisher of the Louisville *Courier Journal*. In July, 1942, at the Birmingham hearings of the Fair Employment Practice Committee he stated: "There is no power in the world—not even in all the mechanized armies of the earth, allied and axis—which could now force the southern white people to the abandonment of the principle of social segregation." Southerners insist that such a statement does not indicate stubborn resistance which can be satirized or called wrong, but rather reflects an organic situation which ought to be understood. Consider the following explanation by a prominent southern scholar:

... in the southern United States of America ...the race problem came, after the Civil War and reconstruction, to symbolize the old slogan of what men live and

relations. This definition seems to fit men like Mark Ethridge, Virginius Dabney, and John Temple Graves who speak of themselves as southern liberals and who clearly are neither conservatives nor radicals.
[49] *Folkways* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1906).

die for: for God, for home, and for country. Thus, in the segregation of the northern and southern churches, the religious factors involved allegiance to the southern way of worship, so that the issue came to be one of God. In the folkway of race purity, it became a question of the home and family. In the loyalties of the southern people to their region and to the different states against the North, it came to be "for country." Now, manifestly, people grounded in the loyalties of these three noble motivations and having had no possible opportunity to sense any other attitude cannot be bad people simply because they work on these motivations. On the contrary, they are good people.[50]

This complex of ideas has proved so effective as a defense mechanism that literate southerners actually consider themselves and their less fortunate people to be persecuted and misunderstood martyrs, certainly not evildoers. Outsiders and meddlers are evil because they stir up trouble and molest a biracial economy which, if not good, at least cannot be changed. However, it seems clear that the persecution complex of the South is a form of social paranoia grounded in the rationalization of guilt feeling.

PATERNALISM AND PHILANTHROPY

Paternalism in the South is a modified version of the theory of the "white man's burden" combined with a megalomaniac sense of *noblesse oblige*. The kindly plantation owner actually believes that his sharecroppers will starve if he does not feed them, and the Christian housewife really thinks that her kitchen is the only source of food for her cook. That is, they believe this until the sharecropper migrates to the city or the cook leaves her prewar three dollars per week for forty dollars per week in the factory or shipyard. However, there is much incidental kindness in the South at the personal level. A true gentleman of the South will give a blind Negro a quarter although he may protest the allocation of tax funds (to which the Negroes have contributed) for construction of Negro eleemosynary institutions. Naturally, it is unthinkable that Negroes be admitted to existing charitable institutions where whites are given care.

A paternal and lenient attitude toward crime alleviates the sense of responsibility southern whites have for the high crime rate among Negroes. Living conditions in the ghettoes of southern cities breed crime and even some of the unen-

[50] Odum, *op. cit.*, pp. 29–30.

lightened southerners know this. They know also that the caste system forces Negroes into ghettoes and makes them diseased, ill-educated, and criminal. Thus, almost universally in the South, all classes of whites regard crime among Negroes, as long as it involves no white persons, as a thing of humor. The wayward but likable child is to be scolded but not seriously punished. Consider the following statement:

Until a short time ago, if a Negro got into a brush with the law, he invariably got a white man to help him out. I personally have done a lot of this work myself; and there is now a certain judge in Charleston who, when he sees me coming, knows exactly what is up: I am there to try to get one of the Negroes of my plantation out of difficulty; and this is, or has been, the general practice throughout the South.[51]

Northern and southern philanthropy has done as great deal for the Negro in America. Yet in some instances it is patently a mechanism for reducing guilt. Such philanthropy toward the Negro serves a double function. Not only is the giver made happy over his gift but the caste barriers are strengthened. The building of all-Negro educational institutions, hospitals, recreational facilities, etc. aid Negroes, to be sure, but effectively retard eventual integration. It has been reported that one of the most effective arguments for getting grants for Negro graduate schools in the South is that such aid will prevent or at least retard the entrance of Negroes in the State universities of the South.

Philanthropy works, sometimes in airtight compartments. Great and wealthy men have spent millions of dollars on education for Negroes, yet these same men have resisted employing well-trained Negroes in the industrial plants which they own and operate. It is a curious coincidence that census statistics reveal that in the period between 1910 and 1940 when philanthropically financed colleges and technical institutions hit their stride in producing well-trained Negroes, the occupational status of Negroes actually declined to the extent that in 1940 Negroes were worse off in manufacturing industries than in 1910.[52] Under these circumstances philanthropy is pathological

[51] Archibald Rutledge, "What if The South Should Be Right," *loc. cit.*, pp. 683–684.
[52] See the Fair Employment Practice Committee's *First Report* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1945), chap. 8.

and definitely guilt reducing or guilt avoidance behavior.

CONCLUSION

Guilt has been defined in this article as an emotion arising from the choice of a lower order value at the expense of a higher order one. We have pointed out that caste or racial discrimination is a source of value to white Americans as compensation for societal frustrations and as an outlet for hostile impulses denied expression against other ingroup whites. The American society permits or sanctions caste behavior, and discrimination is therefore moral as defined by the group.

The ideals of democracy are also a source of value to Americans since democracy serves as a unifying and cohesive force in a disparate nation and is the moving principle behind American nationalism. The American Creed is a social myth in the sense of the term as used by Georges Sorel and has value at that level.

The average white citizen experiences little or no guilt over the conflict between the principles of democracy and the practice of caste because caste is sanctioned by society and any moral responsibility for the conflict is the problem of the group as a whole. Inherent in caste practices is a whole moral or ethical system rationalizing race discrimination. Because the value conflict between caste and the American Creed is actually opposition between unconscious satisfactions and mythical ideals, the average white American simply obeys the "mores and folkways" and experiences little moral uneasiness or guilt. Some whites who lack the opportunistic desire for ignorance about race exploitation experience some guilt about their moral hypocrisy but have developed guilt reducing mechanisms which allow them to continue within the caste system without taking effective measures to destroy it.

The fatal weakness of caste as a socially approved cultural form is that it provides only artificial and second order satisfactions. Derived hostile or aggressive impulses are satisfied but the primary psychological and social motivations remain thwarted. When the white individual perceives this, as in the case of psychoanalytic insight, he repudiates the false gratifications for the genuine values because the latter are more satisfying. This is an almost automatic operation of the moral imperative that we choose the good rather than the bad, the better in preference to the merely good. Thus an increasing number of enlightened white Americans are turning in the direction of a casteless democratic society because it means a better life for themselves.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF A SOUND SOCIAL POLICY FOR CHINA

TA CHEN

Tsing Hua University, Peiping, China

CERTAIN FUNDAMENTAL CONSIDERATIONS

THOROUGH *study of the social situation before policy-making.* Certain kinds of social data which are now available in contemporary China usually constitute the chief sources of material which some social scientists have relied on for conducting their special studies. Aspects of such inquiries have shown their practical applications in the formulation of social policies by the government. In this cooperative undertaking, the student of society and the government official should join hands, though each has a specific function to perform. The social scientist should primarily be interested in the collection and analysis of data, and, when the data warrant it, he may propose hypotheses or draw conclusions. Chiefly on the basis of these, the government enacts laws or declares policies. If things work out harmoniously, social equilibrium may be maintained and group happiness may naturally follow the division of labor. In this sense, human society may, in the terminology of Lilienfeld, Schaeffle, and Spencer, be likened to a social organism where every part is functionally related to every other part. If, however, this analogy should be applied to present-day China, it may easily be called a misnomer in that the different parts are not functioning properly, more noticeably the

government as the special regulating system of society.

The principal weakness of the Chinese government is easily seen in connection with its formulation of social policies. Any social policy, to be effective and enduring, should be in perfect harmony with the folkways of the people. This unhappily is seldom the case in modern China; and the chief reason seems to be that, prior to the making of a policy, no thorough-going investigation is made in order to see whether a proposed· measure fits a particular social situation and is therefore in agreement with the traditions of the people. Rather frequently, the legislator in China, finding that a certain policy proves its effectiveness in a western nation, copies it for application in China without first ascertaining whether it will be appropriate for the Chinese situation.

Two instances will suffice. In 1931, when 131 Hsien in the Lower Yangtse Valley were flooded, about 5,000,000 families, exceeding 20,000,000 individuals were seriously affected. Some lost their lives, others suffered the loss of their property and positions, and a vast number were thrown out of employment. If this disaster should occur anywhere in the Occident, this huge army of the unemployed, in seeking relief from the government, would have baffled any western state not excepting even one in which the most efficient unemployment insurance system was in operation. In China, however, the case turns out differently. These unemployed millions were gradually taken care of not by the state but by their own kinsmen, relatives and neighbors who greatly lessened the burden of the government. Here, the family and its organization were of great assistance to the government.

During the recent war, as the enemy penetrated deep into the interior of China, internal migration of an unprecedented magnitude took place. At its severest stage, the inhabitants of certain cities and rural areas of 17 provinces participated in this mass migration. Towards the last days of the war, the homeless men who remained in the Southwest and Northwest more or less permanently amounted to about 15 million persons. When the war was over, the government did not assist them on any large scale to return to their original homes. Yet millions have now gone back to their home communities. Individual initiative, courage, and the spirit of perseverence, which have characterized the professional groups for a long period, have this time urged them to start and maintain the back-to-home migrations.

Facing a similar situation in the Occident, the government would surely have assumed the heaviest responsibility of assisting the migrants to return to their homes. In China, however, the government is not yet supreme in exercising its sovereign power. In order to be entirely successful regarding the enforcement of a certain social policy, the sovereign rights would seem to be best exercised by the government with the assistance of certain social groups such as the family, the gentry or the professional groups.

2. *The Machinery of Enforcement.* A second fundamental concept is that, if after a careful study of the social situation, a sound social policy is made and declared, the government must see to it that such policy is faithfully put into operation. This means, among other matters, the creation of proper machinery for the enforcement of laws and policies. It is sadly true that many acts and proclamations of the Chinese government thus far have remained paper plans, because they are not strictly enforced. The main body of the social legislation in China today has little effect on society, for only a negligible portion of it is yet enforced. Shortly before the war, the inspectorate of factories was established in Nanking. Today, strenuous efforts are being made to restore it. But, it is yet premature to ascertain its actual social consequences.

SOCIAL POLICY AND POPULATION

1. *The Unification of Data-Collecting Agencies.* Coming now to the application of these principles to specific social problems, let us first refer briefly to population. For 15 or more years the writer has been in favor of centralizing the collection and analysis of population material in one agency under the central government principally to avoid duplication of work, minimize friction, and economize in expenditures. Up to 1945, census taking and the registration of vital statistics were by law and by the declaration of the government's policy to be under the separate charge of two central organizations often resulting in overlapping, inefficiency, and irresponsibility of the officials in charge.

Today, although the machinery for data gathering is centralized in one organ, i.e., in one section of the Ministry of the Interior, its organization is yet too weak for this special task. It was, there-

fore, suggested further that a special bureau be created for the collection and analysis of population data, and the result is the establishment a few months ago of the Bureau of Population, under the Ministry of the Interior.

2. *The Application of the Sampling Techniques* More important than the organization is perhaps the question of methodology of contemporary population studies. Regional censuses have their uses as well as limitations. For years, criticisms have come from certain Chinese co-workers that the data from sampling studies were generally valid for the computation of ratios and percentages but were deficient for the computation of the totals. During the last decade, however, noteworthy progress on sampling techniques has been made in India and more notably in this country by the Bureau of the Census. Their results have shown that scientific samples chosen on the basis of areas and at random may enable us to reach dependable conclusions on a number of topics in which students of society are usually interested and about which dependable data are yet lacking.

The results of the samples will generally be reliable, and the totals which are estimated from these samples may differ from the totals based on the direct enumeration of the total population within a very small margin of error. The new developments in the sampling methods will therefore be of great value to China especially at a time when she is not yet ready for the national census by direct enumeration of the whole country.

It appears, then, that for further population research in China, the above suggestions seem to warrant careful consideration.

3. *Reasonable Increase of Population.* Going a step further, the relative emphasis on the quantity and quality of population should be briefly discussed. Since new evidence has recently been brought out on Dr. Sun Yat-sen's views of China's population problems, we are reasonably certain that he was not in favor of an unconditional and universal increase of population. On the basis of this understanding, the Population Committee in 1944 recommended to the Government to adopt the policy of reasonable increase to be worked out among the families, classes, and communities in accordance with the prevailing socioeconomic conditions. According to this view, differential birth rates must result: there may be increases in certain families, certain classes or certain communi-

ties, and there may be decreases in other families, classes or communities.

4. *Birth Control.* Then, too, several governmental measures calculated to improve the quality of population have been under consideration for some time. Of particular interest to social science students is artificial limitation of offspring through birth control. For many years the government has looked on this question with disfavor. But, on May 17, 1945, at the Sixth National Congress of the Kuomintang, the party officially declared its attitude in favor of birth control. This is revolutionary for the party and the government. Traditionally, the idea of the conscious limitation of the family runs counter to the age-old usage of the masses. But, when rightly presented, birth control slowly found its acceptance among certain social classes, as small-scale birth control clinics were already in operation in a few Chinese cities before the war. Seeing the practical economic and social advantages of a small family, a growing number of the people welcome the neo-Malthusian practice without much opposition.

SOCIAL POLICY AND URBAN LABOR

1. *Health and Safety.* Again applying the government's social policy to city labor, the adoption of the features of labor legislation may be briefly explained. In 1931, the writer was engaged in a factual analysis of the Factory Act and was ably assisted by 15 competent co-workers who visited 228 factories in Shanghai in order to obtain the essential data about the working conditions in the factories. Four months later, at the conclusion of their labors, he thought that certain aspects of the Factory Act could be applied outright, among them being the regulations on health and safety. Agreeing with this view, the specialists of the I. L. O., who were then visiting China at the invitation of the Chinese Government to enforce labor laws, recommended to the government that it begin with the features on health and safety. The inspectorate of the factories was subsequently set up and the training of the inspectors soon began; having graduated two classes before the war and two classes during the war.

(a) *Food and Nutrition.* More than 16 years have elapsed. The soundness of the idea of health and safety as an initial step toward the protection of labor may now be reviewed. In 1945, in connection with a study of factory labor in Chungking, attention was quickly drawn to the workers'

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health, and food was chosen as a special inquiry. The daily records of food as consumed by 348 workers of an arsenal for the year 1945 were analyzed. Seventy-two items of food (including rice, vegetables, meat, and cooking requirements) were identified. The daily intake yields about 3,200 calories, comprising 95 grains of protein and 1 gram of calcium. This diet was said to be sufficient for the health and efficiency of an active worker of the body weight of 70 kilograms. The thiamin intake would have been adequate if brown rice instead of white rice were used. The intake of vitamin A would have been adequate if fresh leafy vegetables were freely used. The adequacy of vitamin D was uncertain. The intake of riboflavin was about one-third of the value as compared with the American standard recommended by the National Research Council in 1943.

The food situation at this arsenal was considerably better than that in many other government and private factories in Chungking yet great deficiencies in vitamins were noted. Therefore, food as a health problem was very serious for the workmen in Chungking and its vicinity.

(b) *The Expectation of Life.* Extending our inquiry a little, attention may next be called to our field experience in Yunnan throughout the war. In our daily contact with the people in an area of about 3,400 sq. Km. containing about 580,000 inhabitants, we were constantly struck with the poor health conditions of the common people. For about one-fifth of this population we instituted a system of periodic reporting of births and deaths, and we came to know rather definitely the prevailing diseases and common causes of death. Aside from the epidemics which occasionally visited this region, the important causes of death were due to infectious diseases, such as dysentery, measles, smallpox, typhoid, and pulmonary tuberculosis. For the first time in China, we constructed life tables for this area on the basis of the reported vital statistics. The expectation of life for a male at zero age was only 33.8 years and that for a female only 38.0 years. This was roughly the social environment prevailing in Massachusetts and New Hampshire toward the end of the eighteenth century, for in 1789 in these two states the expectation of life for a male at zero age was 34.5 years and for a female 36.5 years.

About the safety measures of the factories, brief comment should also be made. In Chungking during the war, most of the factories were ad-

mirably equipped with dugouts against enemy air raids. These tunnels on the hillside or at the bottom of the rocks adequately protected the workers from being injured in air bombing by the enemy. In Kunming, an arsenal and a glass works, though keeping most of their machinery and equipment in the tunnels, were raided by enemy aircraft eight times in three weeks, resulting in the partial destruction of the administrative offices and workers' dormitories only.

Modern factories have as a rule quite strong buildings in which it is reasonably safe to work. Fire escapes are common but not universal. The fencing of dangerous machinery, belts, drums, shafts, pulleys, and wheels falls far short of what the law requires.

The periodic reporting of accidents which most of the factories found it difficult to comply with when the Factory Act was first promulgated is not generally done today. At a large-size munitions factory, the suggestion of periodic reporting of fatal accidents was made in 1945 and accepted, but later events have shown that no systematic reporting has since been instituted.

Today, the need for the protection of the workers' health and safety is therefore still very great. Rigid and more frequent inspection of the factories by the inspectors would perhaps tend to improve the situation.

Certain other social reforms though of great importance in themselves should not be recommended for immediate application, for the present social situation does not warrant it. However, in addition to health and safety, there are other aspects of social policy which must also draw our immediate attention, such as workers' education.

2. *Workers' Education.* In our field survey of the population of the Kunming Lake Region in Yunnan Province, we were constantly reminded of the appallingly high illiteracy which prevailed. Kunming city has the lowest rate of illiteracy which is about 76 percent of the total population; Kunyang has the highest, or about 92 percent. We are not certain how representative these data would be, but we are reasonably sure that high illiteracy still prevails in many areas in China. This excessive rate of illiteracy constitutes one of the most effective causes of the weak labor movement in China today. A very large number of the Chinese workmen deeply regret that because they are uneducated they cannot assume responsible positions in the unions to work for the common

benefit and for their comrades. It is extremely rare indeed that a labor leader of good education and practical experience can be selected from the rank and file of labor to fill a leading post in the labor movement.

Before the war, in our investigation of factory labor in Shanghai, the question of workers' education frequently came up for discussion. The Chinese employers seeing the difficulty of extending education to the workers merely by the efforts of the Ministry of Education, willingly shouldered the responsibility of providing education for the workers and their children in so far as their finances would permit. But among the foreign employers, different opinions prevailed: some argued that they were not interested in elementary education since that would properly come within the competence of the Ministry of Education. As to secondary education, the management would in some cases share the responsibility with the government and the unions to give technical instruction to their workmen.

During and since the war, a somewhat different situation seems to prevail. In Kunming and Chungking, there appeared to be an earnest desire on the part of some employers to provide education for their workers, though not many workmen availed themselves of this opportunity. In these two cities, workers' education was composed of evening classes: classes for elementary Chinese and technical instruction for certain specialized trades. Technical education is frequently given at schools of middle school standing for the skilled workers in certain specialized professions. The adult males and females who have lost the opportunity for elementary education when they were young may obtain it at the evening classes when their working day is over. Likewise, the apprentices are also taught in these classes.

A fairly large number of factories in Kunming and Chungking provide education for the children of the workmen. These lessons are usually given in the evenings, but, in a smaller number of factories, day schools are also provided. The pupils pay no fees for books and stationery, since these are generally provided by the management. As to the meals the children take at the schools, a part of the expense is borne by the parents. The curriculum of these schools agrees in the main with that of the Ministry of Education.

But it should be clearly stated that the provision for workers' education is generally inadequate.

For example, in our survey of factory labor in Shanghai, in the autumn of 1946, it was found that, among 241 factories, only 23 of them provided evening classes for their workers. There were only 59 classes which were attended by only 3,302 workmen.

It is this lack of educational attainment among the workers that largely explains the appalling rate of high illiteracy among them. This in turn is responsible for the lack of leadership for the organization of unions and for participation in the labor movement today. In strengthening the government's social policy as affecting the workmen, it is therefore essential that educational facilities should be extended to them as soon as practicable.

Before the war, we undertook a rather extensive survey of Chinese middle schools inquiring into the student enrollment, the sources from which the students were chiefly drawn and the students' expenses at these schools. It turned out that the students came from three principal social classes, i.e., the official, the industrial and commercial, and the educational. Though the other social classes also had their sons and daughters educated in the middle schools, they were numerically unimportant. The peasants and the city workers who constitute the two most numerous groups in Chinese population had very few children in the middle schools. One of the chief reasons was that it was rather expensive to get the middle school education and only the fairly well-to-do families could afford to keep their children in these schools. Our data showed that in order to have a son or daughter attend the middle school, the family must have a minimum monthly income of 50 Chinese dollars of the pre-war value. At that time, the average monthly income of the peasant family or the urban worker's family was rather below 30 Chinese dollars.

The doors of the Chinese middle schools have virtually been closed against the two largest social groups. This situation is not altered during and since the war. Because the peasants and the workers find it almost impossible to educate their children properly, a great deal of talent and ability among them has found no possibility of development. This is certainly an irreparable loss to the nation.

A sound social policy should therefore include as one of its primary objects the provision for educational benefit to the greatest possible number of

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the people. When talent and ability are allowed
to waste among the peasants and the workmen,
the two most numerous groups in the Chinese
population, some drastic measure toward correc-
tion should be undertaken by the government at
the earliest possible moment.

SOCIAL POLICY AND RURAL REFORMS

1. *Tenancy*. Of wider application than that
affecting the city workmen is the government's de-
clared policy on rural reforms. In the speeches
and writing of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, clear
recognition was taken of the significant role that
the farmers must play in order to carry the revolu-
tion to successful completion. He was also deeply
sympathetic with the unsatisfactory socioeconomic
status in which most of the farmers found them-
selves. To ameliorate their condition, he proposed
that the tillers of the soil must own it. Toward
this end, the party and the government have in
recent years been earnestly devoting their energies.
Yet, as far as our present knowledge goes, the goal
cannot be reached within a reasonably short period.
One of the chief obstacles is that the government's
policy does not seem to fit into the existing condi-
tions and is, therefore, difficult of immediate
realization. Furthermore, with regard to certain
promulgated laws and declared pronouncements,
no serious effort is being made to enforce them.

The insistence on the equalization of land owner-
ship will naturally affect a large number of tenants
who, in many rural areas, constitute anywhere
from thirty percent to about half of the total
number of farmers. By this proposal, they will
eventually become the owners of the land which
they till. During the war, when the Farmers
Bank of China, in cooperation with the Provincial
Committee on Agricultural Surveys studied 12
Hsien in Szechuan, they stated that it took 23
years for a tenant to become an owner of the land
he cultivated. This means almost a lifetime for
a successful tenant to change his status and to
climb to a higher place in the social ladder. Those
of us who have spent eight or more years in almost
daily contact with the farmers are convinced that
the findings of Szechuan would generally be ap-
plicable to Yunnan.

2. *The Depletion of Talent of the Countryside*.
More serious than tenancy is perhaps the depletion
of ability and talent of the countryside and the
government's efforts to induce the abler classes to
remain in the villages. It is commonly said that

the most eminent member of the gentry usually
resides in the provincial capital, that the second
class gentleman lives in the Hsien headquarters,
and that whoever remains in the village is a tiller
of the soil; and it is the members of this third group
who constitute the ignorant and the indolent ele-
ments of the population. For years, plans have
been on foot to persuade the talented gentry to
return to the rural areas, but without success.
Here again, the government's policy seems to be
out of line with the folkways. As the city offers
better facilities for employment and for living, it
naturally is prone to attract the able and the
talented who will not under ordinary circumstances
return to the village to live a monotonous and un-
productive life. What may be attempted is per-
haps not to urge the gentry to return to the villages
but rather to urge them to utilize their influence
in promoting better communication and more
frequent interchange of ideas between the cities
and the villages.

3. *The Organization of the Farmers*. But the
Government, in pursuance of the party's policy
of long standing, has been earnestly attempting
to organize the farmers. This was certainly indis-
pensable at the time of the revolution. However,
since peace has long been restored, relatively more
worthwhile efforts should have been made toward
improving the economic and social life of the rural
communities. Accordingly, measures of social re-
construction, especially the following, should take
precedence over the question of organization.

First and foremost, the farmers' urgent need
today is for such economic reforms which will tend
to increase the products of agriculture such as will
benefit themselves and their families. These
reforms would include the improvement of farm
management, the more efficient application of labor
or the selection of seeds, or the better use of irri-
gation and drainage, and the improvement of
marketing methods.

Next, there should be more and better schools in
the rural areas. Our constant association with
the farmers throughout the war years has tho-
roughly convinced us that most of them are still
ignorant of the rudiments of democratic ideas.
Yet the government has already declared that since
the constitution was already adopted in December
1946 it will be enforced by Christmas 1947. In
order to make a fair beginning toward the constitu-
tional reforms, more efficient educational schemes
should be tried out at the earliest possible moment.

Thirdly, there must be more adequate provision for health to improve personal hygiene, public sanitation, and to diminish diseases and epidemics.

These three measures are fundamental and should be effectively carried out before the organization of the farmers. The farmers should be organized no less than should the city workers. But the same unsatisfactory results would await the organization of the farmers as have already happened in general to the urban workmen if no satisfactory preparatory work is done.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, certain general observations may perhaps be made. The chief obstacle toward a sound and effective social policy in China seems to lie in the fact that frequently there seems to be too much haste in the enactment of laws or in the proclamation of governmental policies. Careful analysis has from time to time revealed that a large number of these laws and policies do not harmonize with the socio-economic situation or with the folkways of the Chinese people. In order to improve this deplorable state of affairs, the social scientist should attempt to obtain more data for his analyses, and the government should devote more time to discuss and deliberate over these data before reaching conclusions.

After a thorough-going study is made and a definite policy is decided on and made public, the government should faithfully enforce it, so that the people may derive from a particular law or policy whatever benefit is intended.

ASSIMILATION OF EMIGRANTS FROM THE OLD SOUTH IN BRAZIL*

JOSE ARTHUR RIOS

University of Brazil

NO ONE has ever made, in the United States or in Brazil, a study of the Southerners who, after the Civil War, migrated to Brazil with the purpose of preserving their southern traditions and the patterns of living which they thought were menaced by the northern victory. We lack a good analysis of their location, of their heroic and obscure lives, of their fight against the wilderness. The analysis of their reactions in the new environment, of the attitudes and values they developed, should be a valuable contribution to the sociology of migration. Unfortunately, such study is seriously handicapped by the dispersion of the documents between two countries so distant one from another as Brazil and the United States. In the public and private archives of both countries there are many personal documents which still wait for the researcher. The study of the Southerners' migration to Brazil, as many other things, will make greater progress when Brazilian and American scholars pool their efforts by exchanging data and points of view. Like many other important things, this depends on our international understanding and friendship.

The whole story begins a little before the Civil War when the South became interested in the tropical countries of Central and South America. In fact, many Southerners thought that the American pioneering expansion should not turn itself exclusively to the West but should also project itself southward. To the men of those times, the Central and South American countries looked like tropical paradises which only waited for man's labor, just a bit of it, to bring out their golden fruits. Men like the enthusiastic Virginian, Matthew Fontaine Maury, travelers like Daniel P. Kidder, scientists like Wallace, did much to foster such movement by their writings.[1]

The strong motivating force of the migration was, however, the Civil War and, probably more than the war itself, the following period which is called, rather ironically, Reconstruction. We

[1] Lawrence F. Hill, *The Confederate Exodus to Latin America* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 1936), pp. 5 ff. and Herbert Smith, *Brazil, The Amazons and The Coast* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1879).

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have to read the contemporary documents, the memoirs and the observation of travelers, the private letters of the period, to get a clear idea of the critical situation. All of a sudden, thousands of southern families found themselves in a society which had lost its economic support with the abolition of slavery, suffered the devastation of its plantations and the lack of labor, and, what is more important, was faced with the subversion of classes instigated by unscrupulous politicians. This was undoubtedly the real cause of migration, but it did not act as fast as we might imagine.

It is common to think of a migration as a kind of jump. People start moving all of a sudden and do not have any clear idea about why they move and where they go. This is not true, at least, as far as the southern migration to Brazil is concerned. It was a highly rationalized migration and it involved careful thinking and discussion. I suppose this was due largely to the character of the men who led the migration and who belonged to the elite of the southern communities. It was not a movement of peasants expelled from the land or of a miserable proletariat seeking refuge in another country. Naturally, there were also economic motives such as the destruction of plantations which had constituted the great social and economic unit in the South. There were very strong ideological and sentimental motives, as, for example, attachment to the old South, the love of tradition, the pride of the planter so badly hurt by yankee domination, and the firmly established conviction that life was impossible in an equalitarian society.

These idealistic motives were even stronger in the elite who planned and led the movement, who got in touch with many Central and South American governments, and propagated their ideas. This elite was composed of doctors, ministers, army and navy officers, planters, etc. They congregated in societies which financed inspection trips in the South American countries.

Brazil was chosen among them because of the cultural traits it possessed in common with the Old South. One of the most important was slavery and the latifundia regime. Like the antebellum South, Brazil was governed by a rural aristocracy which had as the main supports of its power and prestige the vast latifundia—the cotton, sugar, and coffee farms. Another important factor was the possibility of continuing, in the Brazilian climate, their favorite cultures—tobacco,

sugar, cotton, and watermelons. The southern planters looked to Brazil in the hope that they could find cheap labor available since they planned to continue the monoculture on the same large scale as in the United States. On the other hand, the Brazilian authorities and the planters looked at them as if they were coming to offer themselves as laborers. Brazilian landlords did not see them as the competitors that they really were. This misunderstanding, however, was not noticed by any of them, if we except the shrewd McCollum who pointed it out in his diary—one of the most precious documents for the study of the movement. Nor did this handicap the movement.[2] The agents of the several societies kept crowding to Rio, writing enthusiastic reports on the country, its customs, and the wonderful opportunities it afforded to settlements and cultures.

By 1868, according to Burton's estimates, there were in Brazil about 2,700 Southerners. They spread all over the country, but the most important settlements were those of Santarem, on the Amazon River, which had been founded by the bold Warren S. Hastings, and those of the Juquia River, in the Province of Sao Paulo, which had been founded by the Rev. Ballard S. Dunn. There were a few others, in the states of Paran, Espirito Santo, and Minas Gerais, but they never reached the importance of the first two.[3] We are not directly interested in the location of the settlements and their history. The processes of contacts and interaction, the changes and cultural borrowings—in a word, all that is included in the concept of assimilation and acculturation are the real objectives of this paper.

We have already seen that there was great similarity between the economic institutions of the Southerners and those which flourished in Brazil during the past century. The family structure in the two countries did not present a great contrast. In the non-material culture perhaps the two greatest obstacles were language and religion. With respect to the political institutions of the two countries, as we have seen, the opposition was more apparent than real. In the material culture, however, the divergences must have been greater. Southern agriculture possessed a technology

[2] Andrew McCollum, *The Brazilian Diary*. Original typescript by the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina (Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge), *passim*.

[3] Richard Burton, *The Highlands of Brazil* (London: Tinsley Bros., 1869), I, 5–6 and 418.

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superior to that of Brazilian agriculture with its primitive processes. That which soon struck the attention of the first immigrants was the poor use of the land. They reasoned that, if it produced so well treated in such a crude manner, it would give much more with a scientific agriculture. This observation occurs with frequency in the writings of Ballard S. Dunn. On his visit to a fazenda in Espirito Santo, he observed: "The planter uses no other implement than the broad hoe. As I walked over these favorably situated lands, the thought kept pressing itself upon me, if they produce *such* cane under *such a system*, what would they yield under all the appliances of improved culture?" Naturally he was struck with the primitive ways of preparing the soil, the lack of fertilizer, the almost exclusive dependence upon the hoe, the absence of plows, and the destructive method of fire agriculture. Near Campos on a sugar plantation, Dunn emphasized the fact of having encountered the first plow that he had seen on his entire trip.[4] It is true that while traveling in Sao Paulo he encountered another type of plow which caught his attention because of its antiquity: "It was here I saw a great curiosity in the way of a plow. It is very large, very clumsy, and as nearly as I can judge, after the pattern in use in Europe two centuries ago. This plow has a cast plate nailed to the beam, marked 'Paris'." He could not help adding: "I should be sorry to have Brazilians judge of the utility of plows by a trial of this one."[5] Elsewhere in the book are other references to the non-existence of the plow. He also pointed out the mistakes in the culture of cotton. To him the Brazilian practice of planting cane on the hillsides, and not in the valley bottoms, seemed strange. And Dr. Gaston, in his report, mentions the fact of having seen only three persons who used the plow and this, in a very limited sphere, only in the preparation of the soil for the seed.

Not only were there great differences in the agricultural processes but in the organization of agriculture itself. The Southerners, for example, immediately sensed the difficulty of transportation. There was nothing similar to the wagon used by the American agriculturists. Transportation was done on the back of a mule (or of a slave) or in the awkward oxcarts whose construc-

tion amazed McCollum and whose noise offended the ears of the travelers. The absence of roads was one of the primary preoccupations of the American colonists; in the North at the Santarem settlement as well as in the South in Sao Paulo, the need for roads was one of the requests they made to the government. Furthermore, many noted that the oxcart was the only vehicle on the trails which led to our interior. Another characteristic of our rural society which impressed the Southerners was the indefiniteness in the limits and titles to property. Merriwether and Shaw expressed themselves as follows in their report: "Ask a man 'How much land do you own?' and his usual reply is, 'I do not know exactly, but it is four, six, or ten miles long, and from four to six miles broad.' The lands of Brazil, except in rare instances, have not been surveyed, and no one with whom we have conversed on this subject, knows how much land he owns: all guess."[6] A good idea about the difficulties encountered by the Southerners with respect to tools and implements and the backwardness of our agriculture in this respect is given us by the list of things which Merriwether and Shaw gave for the prospective emigrant: ". . . In the interior you will find only the hoe, ax, billhook, and bullock cart, and they, except the hoe, of the rudest manufacture. Plows can be had only in the larger towns and none have been seen by us that are suitable for the ordinary cultivation of the products of this country." They added that the emigrant ought to bring along seeds of every kind and not to forget heavy shoes for agriculture, a thing which is still little known in the Brazilian interior where man goes barefooted and the shoe itself constitutes an index of social status and as such is used on a single foot on holidays or in the promenades in the city. They recommended also that they should bring along plow gear of all kinds and cooking utensils as well as a cooking stove "as they will find no chimneys in the interior, brick scarce and expensive, and stone not very abundant in the vicinity of the best lands."[7]

These primary differences in the technical aspects of agriculture did not come to be motives of conflict, and we do not believe that they had any effect in either impeding or retarding the process of assimilation. Actually the rapidity with which they acquired Brazilian material cultural traits related to housing and the diet is

[4] Ballard S. Dunn, *Brazil, the Home for Southerners* (New York: G. B. Richardson, 1866), p. 128.

[5] Dunn, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 240.

notable. When C. C. Andrews visited the American colony at Santa Barbara about 1882, he ate in the home of one of the colonists a supper "such as one could expect at the house of an American country gentlemen,"[8] although he did not give the details of the menu and he spoke of a colonist who built his house "in the old Georgia style, with a wide veranda in front, which is entirely covered by the projecting roof." We doubt, however, that either the meal or the house was entirely free from the contamination of Brazilian traits. That which we know from the other settlements is that they rapidly adopted the food and architectural traits of the new country. Thus, for example, in the colonies of Espirito Santo and on the Amazon, the most isolated and the most subject to influences of indigenous culture, the use of mandioca was adopted. And in a letter to the editor of the New Orleans *Times* dated December 1, 1867, and published in that paper on April 26, 1868, Josephine Foster stated that "we have already learned to love it."[9]

Herbert Smith, who visited the Santarem settlement, has left us descriptions of meals which retained nothing resembling the American. The same is true with respect to the housing. Josephine Foster described hers on Lake Juparana as follows: "Our house is very comfortable, being covered and weatherboarded with palm, Mexican-style partitions made of blankets, sheets, etc.; a dirt floor, which is the extreme delight of the little ones; shelves and benches made of small poles tied together with a vine called sepoy (cipo), which is used in every place where nails are required."[10] The descriptions of the house of the Southerners on the Amazon also reflected no resemblance whatsoever to the southern mansions. Furthermore, the diary of Jennie Keyes, a girl of 15 years when the family established itself on the Lake, is a curious example of how the transmission of cultural traits takes place. She relates, for example, how the Brazilian women came to teach the southern women how to wash clothing on the stones in the river. And how, after the ants and other pests from the woods had done considerable destruction to the families' provisions, they learned to suspend them on tarred strings hung from the roof. She comments also on the curiosity of the natives who remained long hours in order to observe how the women prepared and served the meals.[11]

The most interesting fact, however, is that, in learning the practices and techniques in the use of the soil, the colonists received great assistance from the Negroes. Hill records the fact which comes from the diary of Jennie Keyes as well as from a composition based on the same diary and other records of the family by Mrs. Julia L. Keyes: "They found servants to aid them. Old Seraphim, wife and two daughters served the Keyes family, though they were not as useful as had been the Alabama Negroes. Their chief service was as teachers of Brazilian ways and customs. Indeed, in one sense the Brazilian slaves were masters of former slave owners." This reminds us that the same thing took place among the first Portuguese colonists who arrived in Brazil. Their slow assimilation took place not at all directly but by means of the Indian and above all the Indian woman who taught them the folkways of the country. In the case of the American colonist we are led to believe that a role similar to that played by the Negro slave or servant in Espirito Santo was played by the Indian in the Santarem settlement owing to the preponderance of the red men in that region. They were the agents of assimilation—the media through which the emigrants learned and adopted the customs of the country.

It is in the spiritual field that we encounter the first serious obstacles to assimilation and the first important causes of conflict and the lack of adaptation. We judge the analysis of this aspect of the problem to be of the greatest importance, because it has been smoothed over by the propagandists for immigration to Brazil. By preference they have studied the material side, neglecting the social factors whose influence is so powerful in the entire process. On this point, the lesson taught us from the immigration of Southerners to Brazil is precious.

The major cause for the partial failure of this movement, because it was a partial failure if we remember that its contributions were purely local, was that the colonists were not incorporated totally into the patrimony of Brazilian culture and, what is still more important, they did not create a true migratory tradition in the United States. Perhaps the more important factor may have been the dispersion of the settlements, separated by hundreds of miles, so that the settlers

[8] C. C. Andrews, *Brazil, Its Conditions and Prospects* (New York: D. Appleton and Co.), p. 160.

[9] Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 62.

were unable to share their experiences with one another and to unite their efforts in effective cooperation.

Most of all the tremendous isolation of the colonists worked against assimilation, less in Sao Paulo than in the settlements of Espirito Santo and on the Amazon. At the beginning, this isolation prevented every possibility of developing the basic institutions of the Southerners without which their lives became insupportable: schools for children, the church, local government which would permit them to resolve their own problems without having to deal constantly with the central power which was either too far to hear and attend to them or, at times, an indolent and routinized bureaucracy.

The Brazilian government naturally imagined that the fact of selling lands to the colonists at a low price, facilitating payments, preparing a good reception for them in which the emperor himself with his venerable and paternal figure participated by caressing the blond locks of the children, was sufficient to solve the problem. It is true that they were also assured the privilege of importing implements and utensils, but, when the local custom houses did not wish to recognize this privilege since at the time the import duties were one of the major sources of revenue, the poor colonists had no alternative but to bow before the arbitrariness of the official because they could not even think about getting action from this omnipotent being. The story of the difficulties encountered by the American colonist of Santarem in importing his wagon from the United States, as related by Herbert Smith, is a good illustration.

The government, however, had no ways of breaking the isolation of the colonist which he furthermore shared with the inhabitant of our interior who still today is a solitary and abandoned individual. The lack of schools and churches, above all, weighed upon the Southerners. The complaints are there, registerd by everyone who visited the colonies. The endurance of the American colony at Santa Barbara, later called Vila Americana, perhaps is due to the fact that its inhabitants were able to overcome the great obstacles and to construct a school and a church. Andrews at least refers to the existence of a church which he described in the following manner: "The meeting house is a plain yet comfortable wooden building, where the American settlers assist in maintaining a union church, services being held

alternate Sundays by Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian clergymen" (a good example of religious accommodation and cooperation). On the same occasion he visited a school maintained by the women of the colony and his observation demonstrates to us one of the essential problems which confronted the community: "Partly for recreation, and partly to do good, Mrs. Ellis has for several years taught a small school in a little building set apart for the purpose, and situated on the opposite side of the road from the house. Several of the pupils live in the family, as it would be too far for them to go daily to their homes. That Sunday evening two pretty little American girls under twelve years of age had been brought and left at the house by their father who lived seven or eight miles distant, in order that they could attend the school. He said they had never stayed away from home before, and it was a hard trial for him to be separated from them; but there was no nearer school to which they could go."[12] Another interesting cause of discouragement and lack of adaptation is found in the economic sphere. The Southerners, as we have already said, came to Brazil principally because they thought to encounter cheap labor here. Contrary to what they had imagined, they had great difficulties in obtaining slaves and even salaried workers. The first of these began decreasing as soon as the abolition of the traffic became effective in 1850. They did not replace their numbers and they became not only scarcer but more costly as takes place in any merchandise in which the demand exceeds the supply. This was abundantly observed by McCollum in his diary. In relation to the paid worker, the rural laborer in Brazil, but little removed from slavery and accustomed to living in a state of dependence in which he contented himself with a bare subsistence, is not accustomed to continuous work activity. This is one of the traits of Brazilian society most difficult for travelers to understand, even those who visit the country today. They attribute this repulsion to wages as an innate aversion to work and an instinctive indolence. They are merely characteristic of a pre-capitalistic mentality as Willems abundantly demonstrates.[13] It is also said of medieval man that he did not care to work. This pre-capitalist mentality

[12] Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 162.
[13] Emilio Willems, *Assimilacao e Populacoes Regionais no Brasil* (Sao Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1940), p. 257.

also manifested itself in a certain slowness in doing things which still today is observed in Brazil and which greatly irritates the foreign businessman affected by the dynamics of the other world. Merriwether and Shaw did not forget to advise the emigrants "In Brazil where *espere um pouco*, (wait a little), *amanhã* (tomorrow) and *paciencia* (patience) are words in everyone's mouth, an easy-tempered man makes the best traveler."[14] From this we see the necessity of educating man to work for wages, to what he was not accustomed and did not understand. One of the colonists of Sao Paulo demonstrated clearly in a letter to Dunn how the education took place: "Now on our own railway, we cannot truly say that we have ever felt the want of labor: yet when we first began there certainly was an indisposition generally speaking to work. But by and by when one and the other found out that a week's labor really meant a week's money, and that the work was really there, and the constant master there too to pay the money for the work, then the laborer began to comprehend his real position better. One told the other how the case was, how the remuneration for his toil really glittered in his hand on pay-day, and how he really earned his bread and independence; and very soon disinclination gave place to willingness and all wanted to come and learn to work and get their money as their friends were doing."[15]

This capitalistic education, however, did not go on in the same manner in all places and in some of them it did not take place at all. Thus many proud Southerners who expected to encounter in Brazil land suitable for the development of an old-style southern plantation were forced to put aside their pride and to practice the biblical precept, not in the figurative form in which it was practiced in Carolina or in Georgia, but in the literal meaning of the word. For a mentality which saw disgrace in manual labor, this must have been horrid! Some, however, had sufficient will power to put aside their prejudice and to seize the plow or the axe. Somewhat ironically, Josephine Foster notes in her letter about the settlement on Lake Juparana: "Some of the gentlemen have better houses than ours—being daubed like the old Creole houses on Red River—but horror of horrors, they have to do their own cooking and washing, in connection with cutting trees; still they seem

determined to go ahead and we respect and honor them for it." Among them she cites her own father who, although unaccustomed to this type of work, had cleared four acres of ground.[16]

On the other hand, the selection was more favorable for those who had brought along some capital. Nature here was not the same as in the United States. Although the climate was healthful with the exception of fever in Espirito Santo, the struggle against the animals, the plagues, the parasites, the mosquitoes, and the wilderness which invaded everything, had been carried on incessantly. Here Nature's fertility was a principal enemy. Those who had some capital and could await the first harvest won out. The others lived miserably until they could gather the first results and many of them did not last to gather at all. What a contrast between Isaac Young on the Paranagua Bay and the Keyes family on Lake Juparana. The first understood how to unite in close collaboration, capital and technique, and got magnificent results with his sugar refinery. The latter, overcome by fevers, had to abandon the field of battle and seek shelter in Rio de Janeiro.

Undoubtedly another trait difficult for the Southerners to accept was the relation between the races. They thought to encounter in Brazil a slave country with the same cleavage between whites and blacks. However, already at this time within the latifundia and slavocratic society of the second emperor, Brazilians were at work on the factors which contributed to the specific solution of slavery and to the harmonious racial relations which prevail in Brazil. The social ascent of the Negroes and mulattoes had been going on for a long while and thus the Southerners saw with a certain stupefaction a society in which the criterion of color was not the dominant one in social classification. With surprise and even with indignation, they saw Negroes and mulattoes in the midst of society occupying high positions and, because of this, failing to be considered Negroes. This surprise, and we should say this indignation, is expressed freely in various parts of McCollum's diary. Seeing a Negro conversing with other persons of quality and informed that he was a deputy for the state of Pernambuco, he could not help but write "I believe here a little Negro blood helps an aspirant in politics."[17] Traveling in Paraiba he saw a boat where whites and blacks

[14] Dunn, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 215.

[16] Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[17] McCollum, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

traveled together talking and joking and imagined that the whites must be happy because they were traveling in better company.

McCollum's diary is an admirable document for us because it represents what may be called the diary of an unadjusted person—he came, saw, and returned. He did not care to buy fazendas or to remain in Brazil. He preferred the South, even with the "damned Yankees." His diary reflects the vision of a man irritated with everything, with everybody, although not lacking a certain sarcastic humor. It is useful to compare this diary and Dunn's book, for example, which is all eulogies and admiration from beginning to end. In my opinion, no one better than he expresses the difference in mentality between the Brazilian and the American concerning race relations, although the idea may not be his and he attributes the phrase to a friend with whom he conversed in Pernambuco: "Mr. C. thinks that slavery in Brazil does not exist as it is or was known in the United States; two thirds of the Brazilians will sit down to the same table with negroes free or slave. There is, he says, no distinction between the whites and negroes mixed and Indians, except that produced by wealth. If a negro is rich he can take the head of the table at any public place."[18] This was undoubtedly a factor which led many to deprecate the country and the people. Josephine Foster mentions the same factor in her letter. She refers ironically to a species of Americans who do not get along with hard work and "in a little while such people leave in disgust with colored equality, as they term it, and return to negro superiority"[19]— an allusion to the state of things in the South during the Reconstruction Period.

At this point one should ask if the assimilation of the Southerners took place completely. Opinions diverge. Mark Jefferson, who visited the colony of Santa Barbara on an Expedition of the American Geographical Society in 1918 did not believe that there had been any assimilation.[20] On the contrary, Roy Nash affirms: "They made small mark upon Brazil, but Brazil certainly put her stamp upon them and their descendants."[21]

The settlements have had various destinies although only Vila Americana in Sao Paulo has survived. The cause of the disappearances of the colonies was undoubtedly the dispersion of the Southerners who did not present the hostility and resistance of a cohesive group. Many returned to the United States, although the number of these unadjusted ones is not known with exactness. Others abandoned the rural districts for the city where they established residence and married Brazilians, which cannot be other than one form of assimilation. In the Santarem settlement when Herbert Smith visited it, of the 200 who came with Hastings in 1866 only 50 had survived the struggles with the forest and the misunderstandings with the Brazilian authorities who many times were unable to keep their promises. James Orton who visited the Santarem colony about 1870 wrote: "Amazonia will be indebted to them for some valuable ideas. . . . These Anglo-Saxon immigrants have no difficulty in making butter. Santarem sends to Para for sugar; but the cavaliers of Alabama are proving that the sugar-cane grows better than in Louisiana. Some of the colonists are making tapioca or cachaca, the Brazilian rum; others have gone into pork business; while one, Dr. Jones, expects to realize a fortune burning lime."[22] In 1940 only three persons remained in the Santarem settlement—one man and two women of an advanced age who were photographed by Vera Kelsey.[23] Of the other settlements, we know nothing, and it is very probable that their processes of disintegration had been accelerated by the abolition of slavery in 1888.[24] Thus Vila Americana is, until we have other evidence, the only remaining settlement of all those founded by the Southerners. For this reason, it is of singular importance for the study of the process of assimilation. Actually, on the basis of the documentation which we possess, its population presents all of the features of marginality which are characteristic of the process of assimilation in its progressive stages. It is not possible to say that assimilation is complete, that the Southerners have forgotten their origin and consider themselves Brazilians. Also it

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

[20] Mark Jefferson, "Uma Colonia Americana no Brasil," in *Revista de Imigracao e Colonizacao*, no. 4 (Rio de Janeiro, December 1943), p. 81.

[21] Roy Nash, *The Conquest of Brazil* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1926), p. 152.

[22] James Orton, *The Andes and the Amazon* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1870), p. 154.

[23] Vera Kelsey, *Seven Keys to Brazil* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1940), pp. 18–19.

[24] H. M. and P. V. N. Myers, *Life and Nature under the Tropics* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1871), pp. 314–15.

would be possible to expect too much of such a short period of time. A full century has not worked upon the first emigrant tide from the South to Brazil. But we can already see the effects from the descriptions of the travelers. The same duality which Willems pointed out among the Germans of South Brazil relative to loyalty to the native and adopted patterns, we see among the Southerners of Santa Barbara. It is true that the first thing that Winter observed upon entering one of the houses which appeared to him as identical with the "plantation houses so common in the South, was the American flag." And he understood that many families sent their children to be educated in the United States. He noted that the atmosphere of houses was American and in conversation with the oldest colonist of Santa Barbara he was told: "It was a mistake but we did not realize it then, and afterwards it was too late to sacrifice what we had here and move back. We still love the old flag." These evidences of loyalty to the country of origin should, however, be offset with others which bring out an advanced stage of deterioration in the original culture patterns which are of no less importance. Thus Winter also observed: "in some of the younger members one could detect a slight accent in speaking English, which is always noticeable when children learn a Latin tongue in their babyhood. The older ones said that these young people speak the Portuguese with a similar foreign accent." The diet and the housing present other characteristics which we have already mentioned—which are evidence of acculturation. More important still is the fact given by Winter that a few months before his visit one of the members of the colony resolved to abandon Santa Barbara for their old home in

Texas: "In a few months he and his family returned to the Vila giving as his reason that the old neighborhood had changed so much that it did not seem so much like home as Brazil."[25] There is nothing better to demonstrate the state of maladaption reached by the colonists in relation to their original cultural patterns and which constitutes a typical stage in the process of assimilation.

Hill criticizes what he calls the contradictions of the Southerners who immigrated to Brazil such as appealing in their difficult hours to the ministers and consuls of the government which they had abandoned and for preventing the naturalization which was facilitated them by the Brazilian government in order that their American citizenship should exclude them from military service. These things, which for the historians are contradictions, for the sociologists are additional points in indicating the state of instability and marginality of the Southerner who, separated from his original culture to which he professes fidelity, is, despite this, already undergoing a powerful influence from the new environment. We know, for example, that those Southerners did not want to fight against Lopez because they still did not feel themselves sufficiently Brazilian for that, yet their grandchildren participated in the most brilliant and heroic of the Brazilian revolutions in the Paulista movement of 1932, which fought for the constitutionalization of the country. Perhaps, to the hearts of these Paulist descendants has also been transmitted a little of that love of liberty which is the American tradition and that pride of the old planter which is a Southern tradition.

[25] N. O. Winter, *Brazil and Her People of To-day* (Toledo, Ohio, 1910), passim.

STATUS PERSONALITY CHANGE IN NORTHERN NEGROES IN SOUTHERN UNITED STATES

ARDEN R. KING

Tulane University

STATUS personality has long been recognized as an important aspect of the integration of the individual with the culture in which he lives. However, as a subject of scientific investigation it has long been neglected. As Mead and Cooley pointed out many years ago, every individual has definite conscious ideas concerning his relationships to the other individuals who make up a society. These patterns of behavior are the results of an individual's self-evaluation and they make up his status personality.

This paper is specifically concerned with status personality change in three Negro professional men from different northern states when they entered a different cultural milieu in southern United States. These three persons represent a selection from a group of Negroes interviewed while the writer was conducting a program of research in a small southern city.[1] These individuals were chosen for the specific purpose of determining behavior change in persons who move into areas culturally different than those which were formerly their home.

Since it is only through the participation of the individual in a culture that he organizes those self-appraisals which make up status personality, a brief survey of northern and southern cultural differences is necessary.

The American Negro, as a member of a minority group, finds himself in a situation which can best be understood in terms of two basic conditions: (1) incompleteness of cultural participation, and (2) segregation in varying degrees of intensity determined by geographical location. Both of these conditions seem to hold for any minority in most cultures, but the American Negro is subjected to a stronger and more systematized version. Due to the philosophical basis of American society, there arises a fundamental contradiction in socializing

the Negro with the ideals and purposes of American life but not allowing him to attain these goals and aspirations. As a result, the Negro lives in two cultural patterns, the minority and the American culture as a whole. It is evident that he must have two conceptions of his status. The two status personalities very rarely, if at all, coincide in organization.

The most effective and frequent block placed in the path of the Negro who desires full participation in American culture is segregation. Segregation in America can be understood best from two points of view. First, due to cultural and historical factors in western Europe, Negroes were not considered as of the same species as Caucasoids, and were thought to evince this by the seemingly primitive aspects of Negro-African culture. Second, Negroes in the New World were from the beginning in the subordinate slave position.

In the main, the position of the Negro in the various areas of the United States is determined by the degree of segregation. In those regions where conceptions of the Negro as an inferior animal were bolstered by slavery and other socioeconomic factors, segregation was and is more intense than in those areas where these factors were lacking. This in a general way highlights the difference between southern and northern United States, although the economic factor is strong in the North, since legal segregation is a cultural feature present in one part of the country and absent in the other.

A brief treatment of the major aspects of segregation will make the differences between the South and the remainder of the United States more clear. Perhaps one of the most obvious results of segregation lies in the residential conditions. Succinctly, residential segregation of the Negro in the South is nearly absolute; in the North it is not absolute but it is customary. Economically, the Negro occupies the lower positions for the most part in both areas. He is obstructed on every hand if he attempts to gain training for the professions and the skilled trades. If he gains such training, only rarely does he employ it outside

of the Negro community. The Negro in the South is bound to agriculture, both historically and by the various remnants of slavery such as share cropping and tenant farming; while in the North he has seemingly shunned agriculture. It is perhaps along social lines that segregation is the most rigid. Only in extremely infrequent circumstances does the Negro engage in family, intellectual, or recreational activities within the white community. Family and community units are rigidly separate in the South and approach a caste-like system as Warner has pictured it.[2] Interfamily relationships and intermarriage between white and Negro groups are little different in the North. In many communities, however, there is inter-"caste" intercourse along religious, educational, and recreational lines.

The development of status personality cannot be understood unless the specific cultural milieu of the individual under consideration is known. Therefore, a description of the southern and northern environments of each individual depicted below will be necessary. The northern environment of each was different. Therefore, we shall consider each separately and assign symbols to each Negro indicating the location of this northern home as follows: a small New England city (NE), a large Plains city (PC), and a large Middle Western city (MW). A single description of B——, the present home of all three, will suffice.

B—— is a small southern city, located in the tobacco and textile belt of the Piedmont plain of the eastern South.[3] The community falls into the category of small cities with a population of approximately 80,000. The Negro population makes up roughly one-third of the total.

There are five segregated Negro sections in this city. Of these, one holds the bulk of the Negro population, but proportionately does not spread over as large an area as the others combined. The Negro sections are in residentially deficient regions with three of them centered in low areas of small stream drainage. The largest Negro area was formerly oriented towards the railroad tracks, but in late years has outgrown this and spread into

[2] W. L. Warner, "Introduction," to *Deep South* by Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner (Chicago: 1941), p. 10 ff.

[3] This does not represent an attempt in community analysis, but only serves to highlight the major cultural features of B——.

more favorable regions unoccupied by whites. The smallest section has a rural orientation.

This part of the South was never typified by large plantations or a heavy emphasis on plantation economy, and as a result, never had the landed gentry which is the basis of most southern white upper class society. Consequently, the class structure of white B—— has had a development different from most southern cities. In B—— the upper class white originated in small business men who gained control of tobacco trading and manufacture. Later the tobacco group was joined by people who gained class ranking through the ownership of textile mills. This has had an important effect on the relationships of upper class Negroes and whites, because these Negroes reached their class position the same way, thus giving a more common meeting ground than is generally the case in the South.

The presence of a large group of Negro executives, far above the usual proportion in the Negro section of an American city, gives Negro social organization in B—— a different emphasis. Here the wealthy men rank above the Negro educators and doctors. This is the reverse of most Negro community social organization. In this case, there has been a fuller exploitation of the American pattern of life than in other southern communities. Most of the business of these Negroes has come from the Negro community, but a larger number of their customers are white than would be suspected. All this, in spite of the fact that there is a comparatively large Negro college in the main Negro section, tends to place the educated Negro in a class which is more parallel to that of similar groups in white society. Thus the basis of class position in Negro B—— as in white B—— is one of wealth rather than tradition. Like the white group, the Negroes do not lay important emphasis on old southern upper class mores. Unlike most southern, or even northern communities, light skin color, the Negro counterpart of southern white aristocracy, is not the determinative factor in social position.

Except for the factors noted above, the position of the Negro in B—— is very much the same as has been noted in other southern communities. The large proportion of the Negroes occupy what has been termed the lower class. And, although the Negro middle class is larger proportionately than in most other Negro communities because of

the presence of the large Negro businesses mentioned above, it is still small as compared with the white middle class. Most Negroes, here as elsewhere, occupy low grade housing, utilize only small parts of the public utilities, and, in general, occupy lower classes than whites when the proportionate number is considered.

NE

NE is a slightly built male in his middle thirties, easily identifiable as an American Negro. He is medium brown in color, has kinky hair, and moderate prognathism. There appears to have been no Caucasoid ancestry. His parents were descended from Negroes long resident in the North. His mother was born in a small rural community in upstate New York. His father and his father's ancestors, so far as NE knew, had lived in the same small New England city since their arrival in America. NE was born in this city.

NE was the fourth child in a family of three boys and two girls. All were raised under a system of discipline which is associated with the American middle class. All the children were well educated. NE and his two brothers hold PhD's and occupy academic and research positions. One of his two sisters teaches in a private school in New York, and the other is a Civil Service employee.

NE's home, built by his paternal grandfather, was located in a mixed middle-class neighborhood. Socially the Negroes in this city were not subjected to any systematized discrimination or segregation. This probably was the result of their small number. NE's family had some social intercourse with whites, but it was not extensive in character. All schools were mixed, and many of NE's white playmates remained friends throughout high school and college.

Originally the Negro group was not stratified into any particular class configuration. Differences were based mainly on economic position. However, when large numbers of southern Negroes began to enter the city, a social stratification on the basis of northern and southern origin was set up. The lines between the white and Negro groups were more clearly drawn, and the social cleavages so common in most of the United States began to assume an institutionalized aspect. Before the advent of large numbers of southern Negroes, and even after, the Negroes in this New

England city were economically well off. Most of the group were skilled workers or public servants. Some, like NE's sister, taught in public schools. Negroes were apparently welcomed into any religious denomination in the city, but the bulk of them preferred an all-Negro Baptist church.

In summary, the position of the Negro in this city was one which allowed for an almost full participation in the culture pattern as found in New England. There was no segregation as such, and where separation of activities occurred, the initiative had been taken by the Negroes themselves. Some uneasiness of feeling in a predominantly white community and awkwardness of intimate social contact probably helped to effect this separation. There were some vaguely formulated ideas that frequent social mixing was not an acceptable custom. By no means was intermarriage condoned.

During his youth NE found many opportunities for participation in the culture. His status personality was derived almost completely from behavior patterns available to Negroes and whites alike. There was very little in his childhood to indicate he was different from his white playmates. The mixed neighborhood schools served to place him in the group as a whole. Occasionally, he received indication of his future status when he quarreled with his white friends. He was sometimes called a "nigger" and this was deeply resented by NE. However, such incidents were few, and they apparently had little effect. The fact that he came from an old and respected family gave him a feeling of stability and tended to minimize the quarrels with the white children.

Upon reaching high school age, the differences between NE and the white population became more apparent, and the status of equality which he had assigned himself as a child underwent a change. This is especially clear with regard to white girls. As NE now puts it, "I suppose I first began to notice sex differences when I was in grammar school. Puppy loves began to develop then. I used to like to watch both colored and white girls. There was one particular white girl I thought a lot of. But I was just a boy then, not a colored boy. When I went to high school I became a Negro boy." This statement reveals that the status personality was undergoing some reorganization as the realization of the differences between whites and Negroes became clearer. In high school, he lost intimate contact with his old

white friends, and he saw that social relations between himself and white females was definitely frowned on. The disapproval of social contact with white students did not find its source in the white group alone. "My parents intimated that social intimacy was not to be striven for. I soon learned that there were limits of friendships with white friends."

Because of this, NE confined his activities in high school to the Negro group and to sports participation where there was no danger of awkwardness and embarrassment. Two factors ameliorated the differences between him and the whites. First, NE enjoyed considerable success in sports. "I felt that I was the cock-of-the-walk in high school." Second, the secure and respected position of his father indicated that although he was a Negro he was still an important member of the community. NE's status personality was little affected by the differences between whites and Negroes, for he had made adjustments which were only a little more intense than those which whites make within their own group. "I did not feel that the differences between whites and Negroes were discriminatory or unjust." In his status personality organization NE did not separate himself from the complete culture pattern of the community during childhood and adolescence.

In the etiology of NE's status personality, his entrance into and his life in college more clearly crystallized the position which he occupied in society. Here the outline of the place of the Negro in the United States was brought home.

The social life of a small New England college clearly defined the trends of behavior established in high school. While no real discrimination was present in most of his college activities, NE soon learned that mixed dances were not approved by the college administration. This was not a stringent rule, and many of the white students, male and female, would have welcomed NE to the dances. NE, however, reinforced his behavior of high school days. "I felt it was somewhat the way it had been in high school. At home I had to be careful not to embarrass my white friends, and that was the way it was at college. Some of the fellows went on with the social life regardless of the bad taste and the tacit administration disapproval. Some colored people I knew enjoyed the mixed social life, but I don't think I would have. I wanted to have the approval of my white friends."

NE had already placed himself in the status of the Negro. To NE, high status, and consequently, status personality, was acceptance by whites with approval, and, although he was a Negro, he felt he had higher status than many other Negroes in college because they were not held in esteem by whites.

Other incidents define his status more clearly. In classes dealing with segregation he was expected to know the situation better than any other student. But, since he had undergone no severe discrimination, he knew less than most whites. He began to suspect that things were not the same for all negroes. While travelling with a football team, he and another Negro were refused admittance to a student union, but when he returned with white friends he was admitted. He did not fully recognize the implications of the incident at the time, since he blamed the individual who refused him admittance and not the white group as a whole. NE was not elected to Phi Beta Kappa although some individuals who ranked lower than he were chosen. For the first time, correctly or not, he came to the conclusion that he was being discriminated against because he was a Negro.

By the end of college days he had recognized his position as a Negro and had formalized his behavior with regard to the white population. At the same time a sister and a brother were experiencing difficulties due to discrimination. The full implications of being a Negro were being made clear. He realized that one must not, as a Negro, fully mix with whites, and that they discriminated against Negroes. In his desire to get and maintain the friendship of whites, he altered his social activities. He came to look down on Negroes who did not do this. Gradually NE developed facets of his status personality which were separately devoted to whites and Negroes. Despite the difference between his realization of his social position before and after college, NE still found that he occupied a position of respect in his home community. It is true that changes had come about during his absence—the great influx of southern Negroes. But because they were old residents, the position of NE's family was little changed.

Soon after NE completed his college degree, he was appointed to a teaching position in the Deep South. An assumption, from a description of his home community, that a move to the Deep South would involve a change in NE's status

personality proves true. He did not enter the South entirely unprepared. He and his family had discussed the South in an abstract manner. His brother had taught in the South and NE learned much of what to expect from him. "I was prepared to treat southern whites differently. I was warned plenty by my brother, my family, and friends. I made up my mind that I had to get along peacefully. I learned that minor things of unimportance in the North might result in physical harm for me. I found the situation in G—— exactly as I had pictured. I had been well taught by my family."

That NE's preparation for a shift in his status was abstract and inadequate is demonstrated by the following accounts of his first contact with the South. Upon alighting from a train in G—— the lack of courteous treatment to which NE had become so accustomed was immediately apparent: no white taxi would carry him to his destination. The segregation was carried out in public conveyances, stores, theatres, etc. Of course he had been aware of such things, but all of his habit patterns were attuned to a northern base and the adjustment was difficult. The differences between Negro and white were clear cut and the subordinate position of the Negro was present in all contacts with whites. He was particularly shocked and taken aback when a street car on which he was riding was stopped on one of the main streets of the city by a Ku Klux Klan parade and the motorman turned to the Negroes shouting, "Who said the Klan wouldn't parade today?" Upon returning from a formal party, two couples were stopped in their car by the police. They were forced from the car and searched for liquor. When it was not found a cigarette case was thrown from the car and all were cursed. "The disgrace was that we could do nothing about this. We had to take this humiliating treatment, then we also had to pick up the cigarette case. This was the first time I had ever heard a woman cursed." The role of the police in this incident was in great contrast to that which he had known before. Thus, another indication of his change in status.

NE had a much higher status in the Negro community than in the North because of his position in the Negro university. This he deplored because so many of the instructors were so poorly trained. However, in many ways he thought himself superior to the southern Negro. "I tried not to look down on the southern Negro, but

I felt that I was superior to them because they were provincial and naive. But I knew that it was my training that made me think that way."

The few incidents cited above are examples of the experiences which forced NE to fully recognize himself as a Negro. His loss of social contact with the whites, and his identification of himself as a Negro and with the Negro group, brought an enforced isolation from the white group. He began determining his behavior with whites by classifying them. He found "southern liberals," "neutral Negro-haters," and "overt Negro-haters." In the last group he placed the lower class whites. His lower status position is clear when he says, "A cracker is lower than a Negro." His reaction to his change in status is best told in his own words, "I wanted to get out of G—— as soon as possible. I wanted to stay out of the Deep South."

NE left the South to get a MA degree, after which he obtained a teaching position in the state where he now lives. Here he found more amenable conditions and his experiences with whites were not so traumatic, although nothing occurred to alter the distinct cleavage in his status personality which had been brought about during his first two years in the Deep South. Three years at this college saw him enter Harvard University to complete a PhD in chemistry. Thereafter he came to the city described previously where he occupies a high status in the Negro community, being between upper middle class and lower upper class.

NE does not feel this status warranted. "It is a reflection of the false social standards of the majority of Negroes." Because of this, and because of his virtual isolation from the white professionals, he says, "I feel that there has been a drop in my position in society because I am not recognized for my scientific ability either by the white or the Negro group. Too much attention is paid to social activities among Negroes." He disdains contact with "Uncle Tom" Negroes, who he feels cooperate with the whites to keep the Negro in low status by acting with servility. Also, to him most Negro leadership is inadequate, motivated for the most part by the desire to raise individual status among Negroes.

With these incidents, the behavior of NE toward whites was modified and his status personality changed. He feels that these modifications have been made "only in the interests of my own preservation." He finds that he must discriminate

between different modes of behavior toward different types of whites. Thus, when he is insulted by southern whites, he endeavors to keep face by walking away and placing impolite whites below himself in the social scale. He still feels conspicuous as a Negro and states that he is determined to appear respectable to both Negroes and whites. In order to gain prestige and maintain this respectability, he buys his clothing in the most expensive stores. "I recognize that I patronize these stores in order to gain prestige because I know that if I am respectable and have money, they will serve me politely." He finds this type of behavior difficult because it is foreign to his northern habit patterns. He is resigned to the fact that he has little contact with the whites and feels that this isolation from the community as a whole makes him more retiring. The greatest change in his status personality organization has resulted from the lowering of status with respect to whites, and from the opinion that the substitution of a higher Negro status is inadequate.

Although the shift in the nature of the white contact has been an important loss, "The fact that my association with whites has been taken away does not matter so much. The real fall in my status is the fact that the professional contact has been lost. I have only my associate here at the college and a high school teacher to really discuss things with. I only go to the white university for a specific purpose, not to talk and discuss in an informal way. This is one of the reasons why an educated Negro wants to get out of the South."

NE's status among fellow scientists is a very important facet of his life. At all times he has held firm in his ability to become a success, but he has also felt insecure. "I have great confidence as an individual and as a scientist, but not as an individual in a hostile environment." Several factors contribute to a feeling of insecurity even where he has recognition. "All the ——— University staff have treated me very nicely and courteously at scientific meetings. But I find that I must have a strong desire to go. Since I am the center of attraction when I go, I feel very conspicuous. It is the aloneness in these groups that bothers me. It is rough on one's soul. I find that I am envious of the comradeship that goes on between the members of the group in which I cannot participate. But I overcome the

inclination to leave the meeting saying to myself that the knowledge to be gained is worth what has been gone through. Around here my training forces recognition from my white contemporaries in my field. They are willing to grant my training and accept me on a professional level. However, I have lost most of my contacts, and when I see that I am being tolerated merely for my training, and not for what I might be able to contribute, I find myself being left out in the cold."

NE feels that his social isolation from the whites has given him an "inferiority complex" and he finds that he must keep his goals in mind continuously or he will break under the strain. Scientific research is the most important factor in NE's life and he justifies his long hours of research by saying "a Negro must work much harder than a white to get anywhere." However, even here his efforts to gain recognition are blocked by lack of research funds. Faced with this situation, he has come to two conclusions in his mind: "A Negro can't get as far as a white, although he is allowed to compete more with whites than formerly. The experiences I have had since I have come to the South have created in me an intense desire to get out of the South if it is in any way possible." He thus desires to return to a region where his status in relationship to whites is not so far below what he thinks it should be.

NE has recognized his status change with regard to whites and as a result he has generated a great deal of antagonism toward them. He justifies his behavior changes by saying that northern Negroes have no way to understand the situation in the South. Despite his lowering of status, his independence and disdain of Negro leaders, he has intensely identified himself with the Negro group. This is best illustrated by his statement, "I have never wished or even dreamt I was a white." This then is the end point of a process during which the status personality of NE has changed from an organization of self opinions directed towards a combined Negro-white group, to a status personality which has been dichotomized into Negro and white counterparts.

PC

PC is a light brown Negro in his late twenties, of slightly above average height, slender, well-muscled, with curly, not kinky hair. The degree of facial prognathism is moderate, while the facial configuration suggests the mestizo found in Latin

American countries. In appearance he is well groomed, and has the body movements and energy which one tends to associate with athletically inclined persons.

His father was born in North Carolina which he left to attend a northern college. After graduating he became a railway mail clerk and by promotions reached the rank of supervisor. PC's mother died at the birth of a younger sister. She came from mixed Negro-white cattle ranchers in southern Colorado. Her three brothers and sisters all married very light Negroes or Mexicans. At his mother's death the family was broken with PC going to his maternal grandmother and the other children staying with the father. He remained with his mother's family during early childhood. During these years the social differences between whites and Negroes were not apparent. Since all of his maternal relatives were very light skinned, one would not expect much discrimination, especially where there are so few Negroes. When PC was seven, his father remarried, and PC returned to the large Plains city where he was born. At this time PC had his first intimation of what the differences between Negroes and whites might mean. His maternal grandmother made the statement that the stepmother was a "dark woman" and indicated this was an undesirable condition. However, the adjustment to the stepmother was good and the family functioned as a unit.

The city in which PC spent most of his boyhood is located on the edge of the Great Plains in a border state environment. Here Negroes have always been numerous. The patterns of Negro segregation have been strongly felt. There is little contact between Negroes and whites along social lines. Negroes attend segregated schools, are excluded from most hotels and places of recreation. Segregation does not extend to public transportation, however, and as a general rule one can say that segregation is spotty in application. With a few exceptions, the Negro occupies a low economic position. There is a large segregated Negro residential section but there are a few mixed neighborhoods.

It was to such a mixed neighborhood that PC returned. He found his stepmother a stern but just disciplinarian. There was little contact with his father since he was a reticent man and was away at work most of the time. The family lived quietly, and PC and his siblings were for-

bidden to play in the streets or to entertain white playmates at home when the parents were absent. Contact with the whites in the neighborhood was on a friendly basis, but there was never any extensive social life. Of course, the father had much wider contact with whites at his place of work and several such white friends made regular visits to his home.

Because of the semi-isolation from white children, PC and his brother and sister became a tightly knit group. Since PC was the elder son his brother became dependent on him to a rather high degree. PC came to assume the attitude of a protector. Despite the detached relationship to the neighborhood, PC had several white playmates with whom he had contact before and during grade school. He attended a segregated grade school and segregation extended to the social aspects of life. "I had genuine friends among whites. The only difference was that they went a little farther down the street to school than I did." Since his parents protected him from the more extended aspects of segregation in the city, he was not particularly perturbed by the situation in grade school. This attitude was strengthened since he continued to have contact with white children in a play group unit. "I knew there were certain neighborhoods in which people would throw rocks at you if you rode through on your bicycle. I didn't think of this as prejudice because all the kids in our neighborhood would throw rocks at them if they came in our neighborhood."

At fourteen PC was instructed by his parents to gain employment and earn his own spending money. It was his experiences in part-time jobs that began to show him his true position both socially and economically. After PC had shown signs of independence in his first job as a delivery boy, the grocer intimated that Negroes should not act in that fashion. Later, when he was employed as a shoeshine boy in a white barbershop, the owner also told him he was too independent and that an education did Negroes no good since they could not use it afterwards. Another time he discovered that Negroes were greatly discriminated against in the stockyards since they were always called last and then given the menial positions. Soon after this he was employed as a life guard at a Negro municipal pool. There he learned of the great differences in facilities available to whites and Negroes. However, these experiences had

not crystallized the idea that he was a permanent member of a minority group. He still felt that if an education could be gained, one could raise himself in any group.

PC continued his scholastic work by attending a mixed junior college, and here he saw that the Negro was always placed in a subordinate position. Then he entered a large State University where he became still more cognizant of his status as a Negro. In the first two years he was not particularly irritated by segregation patterns because there were large numbers of Negroes in the school and he had personal contact with many whites. However, there were social boundaries for the Negro. PC discovered no set rules governing Negro-white relations or Negro activity, but instead there were restricted covenants regarding Negro participation in the ROTC, athletics, eating places, and the student union. Because there were no set rules, and with the backing of friends, PC fought these patterns of discrimination. He found that most of them came from the university administration, and that the students did not become bitter or harsh if he "stepped over the bounds of Negro behavior unknowingly." This statement is highly significant since it reveals to what extent PC had identified himself as a Negro in the culture pattern. But he discovered that he could actively fight discrimination as he found it. A summary of the important victories and failures along these lines will help us place PC with regard to the basic organization of his status personality as it was before southern exposure.

Segregation in the student union cafeteria was justified by claiming that the Negroes would be happier among themselves. But this was eliminated by having the white students invite the Negroes to sit at their tables. PC was one of the leaders in this movement. When PC entered the university, Negroes were barred from the swimming pool. Later, due to student pressure, Negroes were allowed to swim, but only on certain days. The administration claimed this was necessary since previously a Negro had been drowned by whites. PC drew up a petition for mixed swimming which he had signed by all but one of the students using the pool and it was granted after a long fight. PC and his white friends set up an elaborate program to insure the absence of friction. Thus, the uncrystallized condition of the racial situation enabled PC to take direct action against discrimination.

In other instances his attempts failed. He came to realize the full import of the ban on inter-sex interracial contact, when, after gaining the right to use the dance floor in the student union with whites, this privilege was withdrawn. This resulted from the desire of white males to dance with Negro females.

No Negroes were permitted to participate in intercollegiate athletics, and intramural events Negroes seemed about to win were cancelled. PC's chosen field was physical education and the fact that he was barred from all athletics was a great blow to him. "The thing that hurt me most when I was at college was the fact that I couldn't earn my varsity letter. The varsity sports were barred to me. I think that besides hurting me personally, it hurt the school as I was better than three or four of the fellows who were on the basketball team."

PC found that most of the professors discriminated against Negroes. "Some of the professors at the university tried in roundabout ways to set the classes against the Negroes. However, this didn't work. They would make disparaging remarks and use old ideas about Negroes. Most of these professors were from the South." At this time he began to distinguish clearly between northern and southern whites and ideas of different status in the two areas began to form in PC's mind.

When PC discovered that he could make no headway in athletics, he turned his full energies to work in the college of education. He was extremely popular here and was the first Negro elected to the student council of the university. This occurred during the senior year and the following statement clearly reveals he had placed himself in the Negro group status despite the fact that he had striven to avoid it. "After all the discrimination I had run up against, I felt that at last I had been judged by the fighting qualities I had shown in the other incidents concerning race discrimination, and I told them so at the dinner given for the student council. And even though I didn't get what I wanted most, a varsity letter, I think I would go through it again. I fought prejudice, and I think more whites respected me for it. You have to prove you are not inferior."

Following his graduation PC completed an MA degree in a large midwestern university. Here he discovered there was little opportunity for a

Negro to teach in a white school, so he determined to teach Negroes. Upon deciding this, he secured his present position on the athletic staff of a Negro college.

The differences between the pre-South status personalities of PC and NE are apparent. It can be said that PC was more aware of the fact that he was of Negro status and many of its cultural connotations. He had had greater contact with discrimination and segregation than NE.

Despite this, PC was not fully prepared for the institutionalized patterns of segregation and discrimination of the South. This unawareness had its roots in the aggressive action PC had been able to take against discrimination without any fear of retaliation from whites. Here then, is a situation similar to that of NE, in which the person is aware of racial discrimination, aware of what to expect in the South, but in no way prepared for it psychologically.

As with NE, PC immediately encountered forms of discrimination and segregation which astounded him and shocked him. During his first journey South he had expected the Jim Crow segregation on the train to take place in Cincinnati. When it did not, he assumed there would be none. Upon reaching Bluefield, Virginia, the Negro porter told him to leave his white aquaintances and enter a Negro car. He refused until a white conductor threatened to throw him off the train. This was his first experience with the acquiescent Negro and with threats of violence from whites.

With this introduction, PC faced the full blast of southern segregation. Fortunately, his position with a Negro college somewhat alleviated the force of this change of status. He was not as secluded as most of the faculty, though, since an athletic coach must travel with his team. Once his players were reprimanded for making too much noise in their private car. A fierce argument with the conductor resulted in threats to eject them from the train. PC quieted his players because of fear of physical harm, a direct change from his own student behavior. Again, while travelling by automobile, he and his players stopped at a service station where they used the rest room over the protests of the white owner. After leaving, PC became extremely apprehensive and drove as rapidly as possible out of that state.

Although PC had many experiences of this sort the first year in the South, he underwent little of the traumatic experiences which accom-

panied NE's first year. In fact, we find that there has been little overt conflict with whites on PC's part. Nevertheless, by observation and the experiences of others, PC has learned his position and has modified his behavior accordingly. These modifications have not only resulted in status personality change but also they have weakened the confidence and feeling of security PC possessed in the North. Insight into these changes is easily illustrated in the following paragraphs.

PC has only rarely taken the action which typified his approach to segregation and discrimination in university life. He has accepted and accepted quite early, a position of lower status. Although ticket sellers for busses and railroads will not serve Negroes politely or with alacrity, he found that to protest will bring threats of physical harm. PC has accepted Negro status because he has ceased such protestations. He has a great fear of being called 'boy', but, since he can do nothing, he remains quiet.

With regard to segregation in theatres, and buses and railroad stations, "If an entrance doesn't attack your dignity, a Negro doesn't mind." Compare this with his action during student days. "I have never been called a 'nigger', but I am always afraid that white people will use the term with me. I am always on the lookout for any indications that that word will be used." "Time and time again I have had the desire to hit whites who have insulted me, but I have always decided that I would let them start the fight, since I would come out on the wrong end anyway." These statements and many more illustrate PC's acceptance of Negro status and his concept of himself as a Negro.

PC has come to classify whites as a group, not as individuals. "One has to size up every white individually and very carefully before he knows how to act. The friendly groups are just as prejudiced as the unfriendly, but they have manners. The poor whites are the lowest class. But they are no different than many other whites, so I put them in a group I call Negro-haters. It would be a wonderful thing if all the Negro-haters could be branded so one would know how to act when he met a white man."

As with NE, the greatest change in PC's life has been his loss of contact with whites. This loss has left a gap in northern behavior patterns. In neither PC nor NE has this gap been filled by activities in the Negro group. Behavior patterns

assumed with complete Negro status have been in addition to the northern behavior patterns. This isolation has brought about the beginning of the deterioration of all white contact actions. "Still when I meet old white friends the attitudes are like those of old times, except that we are a little uncomfortable."

Although PC is a member of a Negro college faculty, his status in the community is an anomolous one. He has little contact with either his fellow faculty or non-faculty Negroes. Economically he falls into the upper middle class; socially he has aligned himself with no group. At present he has only one close friend, and he sees five other persons regularly. He does not care for the intimate college social cliques. "I feel out of place at parties since I do not like drinking or card playing. I can only talk, and then I do not talk much. I seek out persons who work along the same line I do. My wife and I do not like to entertain. Gossip is the main recreation here. I don't like to talk about other people and I don't want them to talk about me. People say the only place I am ever seen is at college, and that is all right with me. I am no society dog, and I feel that I am doing fine."

PC feels he would be accepted in any Negro group he wished. "But I place myself in the better educated and self-bettering group of Negroes who are interested in the race's welfare instead of social life." However, there are times when PC is not certain of his course in the Negro community. "I have been asked to join several clubs in the past, but I haven't wanted to. Maybe I should join one of them now because I may need more friends." PC is not certain of his self-assessment in relation to other Negroes.

He classifies Negroes into four groups: ignorant and uneducated, "know-better-act-worse" (irresponsibility stereotype), radicals, and "Uncle Toms" (servility stereotype). He pities the ignorant group and wants to help them. He has little respect for the "know-better-act-worse" since they perpetuate a Negro stereotype. He is constantly alert to keep such stereotyped behavior foreign to his make-up. This indicates knowledge of low Negro status, recognition that whites associate all Negroes with the stereotype, and reveals that his evaluation of self is above most Negroes but below most whites.

He considers himself a radical type of Negro.

That is, those Negroes who fight as actively as is prudent for race equality. It is here that his previous experiences in university life place him. PC's activities in the South have been restricted. "I have become a race man. When I talk, I talk about the race problem with my friends. We talk the thing to death."

Because PC is associated with a college, changes in professional aspects of his status personality parallel those of NE. "I have no real associates around here with whom I can talk. I feel isolated. I have to wait until they have a meeting of colored professors in my group before I can have any good discussions. I think I should have association with the men at ———— University. They have a lot to offer me, and I have a lot that I could give them, but the South stops us." There are mixed professional meetings in physical education, but PC is more segregated than NE. "When they have famous coaches at conferences that the colored men can attend, the colored man is expected to sit in the back and ask no questions."

Although PC has gained a high reputation as a basketball coach among Negroes, he has no hopes of ever being judged for his abilities alone. "I know that if I gain the highest rank possible in my profession, I will still be judged apart from the whites. They [the whites] will say, 'he was pretty good for a colored man.' I have the highest rank I can get in my profession in this area. The whites recognize me as the best among Negroes."

Three major factors have affected PC's status personality in the South: (1) the fear of threats, the fear of harm from the whites, and the fear of humiliation resulting from these; (2) the fear of being present when Negroes fulfill the stereotype; and (3) changes in professional contacts which have forced the conclusion that he can never aspire to higher ranks and positions of recognition because of his status.

MW

MW is a stocky, well-built Negro in his middle twenties. He has many of the physical traits of what has been designated as the Forest Negro type of central Africa. He possesses deeply curled hair, moderate platyrrhiny, and moderate prognathism. The facial skeleton is rugged, with well marked supra-orbital ridges. In color he is coffee brown.

MW is the youngest of a family of two brothers and three sisters. He was born in a large Middle Western city, which, except for the years he spent in college, was his home until he went to the South. This city has a fairly large Negro population, and in the past twenty-five years the influx of southern Negroes has intensified the segregation of Negroes and Negro activities. Grammar schools are mixed but high schools are segregated. The segregation in the high schools has been engineered in part by the Negroes themselves, who believe this helps to alleviate race antagonism. Although there is no institutionalized segregation in theatres and restaurants, it is customary for Negroes to avoid the white sections of the city and for white owners to discourage Negro patrons. The bulk of the Negroes occupy lower ranks in the economic scale although there is a rather large group of Negro professionals. Ecologically, the Negroes occupy their own residential districts. However, much of this is of recent origin, for MW resided in mixed districts until college age. MW's family occupy a position of high standing in the Negro group, because his father is a successful lawyer.

MW has an ancestry of mixed Negro-white-Indian strains. His maternal grandfather was a white man of Scottish ancestry, and his maternal grandmother was mixed Indian-Negro. Both of his paternal grandparents were Negro-white. All immediate ancestors were freemen. This has been an important factor in the etiology of MW's status personality, since he need not directly ally himself with any Negro slave elements.

Unlike NE, MW lived for the most part in a Negro setting. Although the neighborhood was mixed, there was little contact with the whites. His father only rarely had white clients. Living in an upper class Negro family, MW was protected from any disagreeable experiences with whites. Even though he attended mixed grammar schools and had white playmates, recognition of differences between himself and whites began to appear during grammar school. For instance, the first inkling of his Negro status came with the observation that whites tended to stay together in grammar school play groups, excluding the Negroes. This, however, did not affect MW greatly since he still had his neighborhood white playmates. While in grammar school, he found that he was always assigned "pickaninny" parts in school plays. The objections of his brothers and sisters, although not heeded by MW's parents,

caused him to wonder what "all the fuss was about." A new idea was interjected into his developing status personality.

The high school segregation forced him to recognize himself as a Negro. During his high school years, the neighborhood lost its mixed character for the most part, and southern Negroes moved in. He lost contact with all white friends at this time, and he became a complete member of the Negro community. It will be seen that MW's recognition of his status as a Negro was less painful and resulted in a more complete integration in the Negro group than was the case for PC or NE. Looking back now, MW thinks that he profited by the segregation since it protected him from many unpleasant experiences he might have suffered in a mixed high school. Although there was no legal segregation in the city, MW learned of the differences between Negroes and whites in culture participation. This recognition, however, did not develop into a full realization of his place in society as a Negro since his family's high position in the Negro community provided him with a high standard of living and protection from the everyday contact with the whites.

MW entered the State university. His identification of self with the Negro group is best illustrated in his statement concerning his entry into college. "I first noticed that Negroes were discriminated against before I went to high school. When I went to grammar school I felt what the status quo was then and I couldn't understand it. The whites stayed so much more to themselves. When I went to high school, I really began to notice it, but I only wondered about it. It didn't bother me much. I was a little fearful when I went off to college because I had been in a Negro high school for four years. By being the only Negro in my college classes I was afraid to recite at first. Afterwards I got along all right. I think that if there had been another Negro in the class I would have felt better." His high social and economic position gained him easy access to the Negro fraternity on the campus. This was a tightly-knit group which because of its nature endeavoured to gain prestige by leading the fraternities in scholastic achievement. MW also affiliated himself with many interracial groups. Through these organizations he had more contact with whites than ever before. His association with these groups shows that he considered himself

a Negro, and as such, recognized his lower status in American society.

Throughout the first year in university life, he felt that there was some discrimination against him because of his race. However, his segregated high school life probably accounts for this attitude. As a whole his years in college were free of racial discrimination in the classroom. In his opinion, prejudice on the part of the white students was lacking. What discrimination occurred he ascribed to the university administration. Discrimination in the student union building was fought by the Negro and white students alike and the fight was a successful one. MW was a successful student and gained high academic honors. He became very proud of his accomplishments and viewed them as proof that a Negro could do as well as a white.

After completing college, MW did graduate work in another university, but here, as before, underwent very little discrimination. Only the memory of a statement by an agent of a large chemical concern that Negroes were not wanted in that field stands out as an experience which placed MW rudely in a lower status. During this time MW had several arguments with bus drivers concerning his seating on buses, but the reasons for these arguments seem to have been exaggerated. This is extremely interesting because it is an indication that MW had become increasingly aware of his position as a Negro and had placed himself as one who fought for his "equal rights." The pre-South personality of MW was identified with the Negro group but he had not definitely pictured himself out of the white group or below it. His experiences had given him little insight into the social position of the American Negro and what it implied. This in no way prepared him for what the South offered the Negro, but his acquaintance with segregated high schools, and closer integration in the northern Negro life made it easier for him to adjust to the South.

As with PC and NE, MW learned from his northern Negro friends what to expect from the South. But again the recognition of the social structure of the South was an abstract one. "We knew about the South and the conditions there, but we viewed it like we would the Nazis and the Gestapo; something far away, thought terrible, but not experienced." MW went South to teach in the Negro college where he holds his present position. He was determined to act diplomatic-

ally in every situation and to avoid trouble of any sort. But upon entering the area where Jim Crowism was in force, he immediately argued with the conductor of the train on which he was riding, and was forced, in front of whites with whom he had struck up an aquaintance, to retire to the Negro car. He found that the segregation in busses, theatres, cafes and the like was far different in actuality than in the abstract. After a few fruitless arguments we find that he submitted to such a social situation in the same way that most Negroes do. In other words, he became a Negro in action and thought.

Even though he had a clearer conception of himself as a Negro than NE or PC, he has had status personality changes, and he is aware of this. MW attributes this to southern social patterns. He feels most strongly about Jim Crow customs and blames the whites for them. "I feel in many ways I am better than whites because they allow such a thing to exist." He has found that there is no way to fight segregation and has "learned to follow segregation, but has not become docile." Aggressiveness towards whites is shown by barely following the segregation lines. "I have lowered my own esteem of myself by submitting, but I find that I must for my own safety." We find that MW has a continual fear that a white will humiliate him in some way and he could do nothing about it. MW sees that the Negro would receive no justice in southern courts, since he has found by experience that the white is always right. All these things indicate a lowering of status and change in his concept of self.

MW now occupies a high status in Negro society for two reasons. First, his position on the staff of the Negro college gives him a high ranking by other Negroes. Second, since his family occupies a high social status in their community as well as in Negro social grouping as a whole in the United States, he has gained immediate admittance to upper class activities. This serves in the main to differentiate the social position of MW from that of NE and PC. Although he does not enter fully into social activities, he is far more a participant than NE and PC. "I am not a socialite but I am holding my own in the social set-up." He has little contact with the lower class and only slightly more with the middle class. He tends to look upon these as inferior. "I feel that I have a more philosophical approach to religion than most of the Negroes around here. I am not a fanatic."

Also, he believes he is superior to most Negroes because of his superior education. "I think there are some inferior Negroes, but I realize what segregation and discrimination have done to prevent their development."

Like most Negroes in the college community, MW classifies Negroes into other categories. He has little respect for the "Uncle Tom" Negroes. He believes this type of behavior perpetuates the Negro stereotype. By resenting and disapproving of them, he places himself in a higher bracket than they, bringing his social status and status personality to the point where his behavior and opinions reflect their inferior position. He considers many of the Negro businessmen more interested in personal gain than in helping the Negro group as a whole.

Despite the fact that MW demonstrates in his actions and thoughts that he occupies a high social status in the Negro community, his status personality as it is oriented towards the white component of American society reveals an individual whose actions and behavior are the result of an inferior status. "I wish all Negroes could see that none of them can get farther than the lowest Negro." In recognizing this, MW also recognizes that he is of lower status. He has taken over and partially devised patterns of behavior which reflect his opinion of himself in relation to white society.

As with the other examples, MW has the problem of professional status and lack of professional contact. A Negro in southern United States has no easy means of meeting with white professionals and being accepted by them. MW, although he is not as far along in his professional career as NE, desiring more contact, finds it lacking, and therefore finds little opportunity of gaining recognition. "A Negro has to prove himself far beyond the white to gain recognition in his field." This attitude appears to be universal throughout the Negro professional ranks. In the case of these three northern Negroes, this situation is more trying since in the North they had received the impression that there was an opportunity to gain recognition even though there might be difficulties attending the struggle. In the South, they find that almost all avenues to recognition are blocked. This has the effect of automatically assigning a position of inferior status to the Negro in the professional ranks much in the same manner as he is assigned that inferior position in the social pattern as a whole. Likewise this adds to the concreteness of

the status personality organization which tends to dichotomize into Negro and white foci.

In MW we have an individual who expresses his status in antithetical ways. "I do not think Negroes should look up to the majority group. A person should take pride in his race." In the next breath he states, "I do not think things are as bad as they are pictured in the South, but this may be because I have not had much contact with the whites." There are several other contradictory aspects of the status personality organization of MW. When questioned as to his ability to succeed in his scientific field, he answered, "I feel that I have lost little of my confidence in myself. I will have an opportunity to continue my graduate work and get my doctor's degree." This is in contrast to previous statements. It appears from this that MW has not fully oriented himself in relation to white society. However, it has been apparent throughout that he has recognized the lower status of the Negro and has modified his behavior accordingly. The lack of change in his confidence of success is probably an indication of how well he is anchored in the Negro pattern of behavior. In other words, he learned how to be a Negro early in life, set his standards of success and behavior in the North, and carried this basic organization of status personality to the South.

Although MW is more closely allied to the Negro status and status personality, there are certain factors in the conception of self which tend to set him apart from both white and Negro groups. "I think that the Indian and white in my ancestry make me better than the Negro or the white." This finds parallel in other Negroes, but the opinion seems to be one which is given to bolster self-esteem, since the individual cannot find acceptance by the white group and does not want to be identified with the Negro group. This condition is made more probable in the case of MW by the statement, "I suppose I look upon my white physical features as the good things in my make-up." Despite his desire that his Indian ancestry be the most important factor in his status personality, he still desires placement in the white group. The recognition of the white group as of superior status is again demonstrated in the identification of white physical traits as the "good" parts of his anatomy. Thus, even though efforts are being made to construct a status personality which would set him apart from both white and Negro groups, because

of his social location he is still a member of the Negro group.

SUMMARY AND CONCULSIONS

In the preceding pages we have considered the behavior changes which accompany the development of personality and behavior patterns in three Negro professional men. These individuals shared in common a shift in cultural scene involving a change in behavior patterns. We have attempted to show to what degree the ideas of status of these individuals were developed in their northern cultural setting and what ideas have developed in the South.

The greatest shift in status personality orientation took place in NE. This can be attributed to his New England environment. There he found a closer integration and more complete participation in the American culture pattern than was the case of PC or MW. NE gradually became aware that he was a Negro. But he was not forced to alter his behavior patterns with whites to any degree. As a result, the shift in the culture pattern was more severe than in PC and MW. The change in status personality or concept of self was of greater significance.

The border state environment of PC led from the beginning to a dual status personality. He early experienced segregation and the results of discrimination. Like NE, he possessed a desire to fully affiliate himself with the white group but with NE there was no direct action taken to attain this. Even though PC early recognized himself as a Negro, he did not assume different modes of behavior with whites. There were ways open by which he could oppose what seemed to be discrimination, and at the same time gain higher status among the white group's members. He was partially successful so that he by no means adopted a concept of self which assumed white group dominance. The chief difference between NE and PC before entering the South was that PC fully recognized himself as a Negro socially, but did not adopt different modes for whites and Negroes; NE had not fully recognized himself as a Negro socially, and therefore, saw no need to consciously adopt the same modes of behavior for whites and Negroes. When PC entered the southern culture area, his adjustment to the behavior patterns demanded of the Negro was not as drastic as that of NE; nevertheless, it involved a change in status personality.

The case of MW involves the least shift in status personality. This is probably due to MW's residence in an area where the southern culture pattern was more strongly felt. The Negro group was well integrated and socially segregated from the white group. MW had established his status as a Negro long before entering college. Although there was some contact with whites through interracial groups, MW stands apart from NE and PC, who definitely allied themselves with white groups while in college. Thus, MW entered the South far better prepared for the segregation and discrimination patterns. The change in his status personality was far less. There was only an intensification of trends already well established.

Even though PC and MW more clearly recognized their Negro status than NE, all three shared ignorance of the bounds of professional attainment and opportunity. It has also been apparent that an intensification of the divergence of behavior into Negro and white patterns followed entrance into the South and a new culture pattern.

We began this paper with the assumption that all persons possess patterns of behavior which reflect the result of an individual's self-assessment in relation to society. These constitute an individual's status personality. All individuals have facets of status personality organization which are employed for the varying social experiences they encounter. For most individuals, these varying facets are integrated into a unit. However, as has been demonstrated above, where a "caste-like" social cleavage is present in the culture, the status personality is dichotomized in individuals of the lower group. One pattern of behavior is employed for the dominant group, another for the subordinate group. This is the case for the American Negro who must develop patterns of behavior for Negroes and whites which are different for the most part. It seems that two status personalities are developed and utilized.

This paper offers only a preliminary and cursory treatment of a subject which heretofore has been neglected. Since the individuals considered here are from a highly selected sample, it is to be hoped that further research can be conducted so as to give information on the status personalities of Negroes of different social status and of southern Negroes in northern and western United States.

A RE-EXAMINATION OF THE MARGINAL MAN CONCEPT

ARNOLD W. GREEN

University of Pennsylvania

THE "marginal man" concept, like so many others in modern sociology, has been taken over uncritically into the literature, even though it has not been used in empirical analysis. It has found its way into almost all of the elementary textbooks: Kimball Young devotes five approving pages to it.[1] The concept received its supreme accolade from E. B. Reuter, who hailed it as the great turning point in racial theory, away from "biological modes of thought" to a strictly sociological analysis.[2]

Robert E. Park first introduced the term marginal man, or "cultural hybrid,"[3] stating that when the walls of the medieval ghetto were torn down a new personality type appeared, a cultural hybrid, "living and sharing intimately in the cultural life of two distinct peoples," unwilling to break with his past and not accepted by the outside world.

Park particularly cites the "profound effects" of marginality on "the more sensitive minds" as exemplified in immigrant autobiographies, and asserts that something "of the same sense of moral dichotomy and conflict is probably characteristic of every immigrant during the period of transition. . . ." While all of us experience periods of transition and conflict, the period of crisis for the marginal man tends to become permanent. Finally, "we can best study the process of civilization and progress" in the mind of the marginal man, for there cultural changes and fusions are taking place.

The fullest exposition of the concept, however, stems from the pen of Everett V. Stonequist.[4] Marginal personalities occur wherever there are cultural transitions and conflicts, but, most typically, where race or nationality enters the picture. Thus marginality is for the most part character-istic of the racial and the cultural hybrid. Ambivalence, inferiority, hypersensitiveness, and compensation reactions, tend to characterize the personality of these hybrids.

While culture conflict and differential assimilation are the basic factors in creating the marginal man,[5] there are several attendant conditions. The extreme type of marginality appears in one who participates extensively and intimately in the culture of the dominant group, and is *then* rejected. The marginal man appears only when the group conflict emerges as a personal problem, through a "crisis experience." And it is the second-generation immigrant whose personality-problem is most acute, for he is "the meeting point of two cultures"; to the extent that these two cultures conflict, the conflict is experienced as a personal problem.

There are two final claims made for the concept. First, methodologically, such diverse terms as half-caste, allrightnick, and hyphenated citizen, are brought under a common rubric. Scientific adequacy of the concept is claimed on the basis of a John Dewey quotation, to the effect that scientific conceptions are a "system of hypotheses worked out under conditions of definite test, by means of which our intellectual and practical traffic with nature is rendered freer, more secure, and more significant." Second, Stonequist recapitulates Park's assertion that the mind of the marginal man is a focal point for studying culture change, for he "is the key-personality in the contacts of cultures. . . . He is the crucible of cultural fusion." Through his efforts to solve his own problem, the situation itself is changed.

Stonequist's development of the concept is hardly rigorous: the marginal man appears as the result of a personal crisis, which, in turn results from "culture conflict"; yet it is those Negroes and second-generation immigrants whose values and behavior most approximate those of the dominant majority who experience the most severe personal crises! In other words, "culture conflict" as *group* conflict becomes more severe as

[1] *Sociology* (New York, 1942), pp. 885–888.

[2] "Racial Theory," *American Journal of Sociology* 50 (May, 1940), pp. 452–461.

[3] "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," *American Journal of Sociology*, 33 (May, 1928), pp. 881–893.

[4] *The Marginal Man* (New York, 1937).

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 215.

differences in cultural forms diminish. Yet those differences in cultural forms are in other contexts referred to as "culture conflict."

It is the thesis of this paper that the marginal man concept has an indifferent status as a scientific formulation. It has not lent itself to statistical nor even differential case-study analysis. Following are two examples of the conjectural and undifferentiated way in which it has been applied in research:

> *Most likely* the inner conflict which many modern Jews are heir to, the pull and tug between two cultures must have afflicted the ancient Hebrews as well. Living under a dominant culture at different periods *must have produced* in many the type of character described by Robert E. Park as a "marginal man."[6] (my italics)

William C. Smith[7] uses the term as descriptive of many Hawaiian crossings, yet at the same time notes that hybrid sensitivity does not run as high as in the Eurasian of India, nor in the mulatto of the United States; their treatment likewise differs, the Chinese-Hawaiian being popularly regarded as a superior product to the Caucasian-Hawaiian. Stonequist also points out that the treatment received by, and the outlook of, various hybrid-crossings differ geographically; but no dynamic relationships are examined, it being merely pointed out that the degree of racial and cultural differences apparent, and such population factors as the number of races present, the number of women available for marriage in the dominant group, will affect the extent of acceptance or rejection of the minority group.

For both authors the term marginal man remains an omnibus term, and, in fact, so dramatically descriptive a term must both exaggerate and fail to differentiate. But, as MacIver has pointed out, the search for causation is the search for the *specific difference*. It seems questionable that "marginal man" serves this purpose. The terms "half caste," "allrightnick," etc., are admittedly crude sorting devices, but it seems doubtful that any demonstrable advance is made by lumping them together. Scientific concepts validly combine discrete phenomena, but only for the purpose of disclosing something that would otherwise remain hidden. There is no evidence that the concept under discussion thus far has done so.

This failure of conceptual differentiation is further shown by Milton M. Goldberg,[8] who has described the "marginal culture" of the second- and third-generation American Jew, which serves as a sort of psychological buttress against the slings and arrows of the dominant group: within it, according to Goldberg, his life-history remains sufficiently secure and wholistically structured, so that "his marginal position results in no major blockages or frustrations" of "his learned expectations and desires. . . ."

For the individual concerned, however, we must remember that it is not marginal but normal. He knows nothing else. It defines his relationship with the older immigrant group and with the wider Gentile culture. Within the confines of his own group, the native-born Jew is completely at home and at ease and it is here that he carries on the major part of his activities.[9]

Both Park and Stonequist lean heavily on published autobiographies in their discussion of the Jewish marginal man. But do highly sensitive, literary intellectuals express the dominant strivings, yearnings of the entire Jewish group? Ludwig Lewisohn is no more typical of the modern American Jew than Henry Agard Wallace is typical of the modern American mid-western farmer. Perhaps autobiographies should be used more extensively in delineating "marginal man" as Stonequist observes, but the matter of *whose* autobiography is to be used assumes considerable importance. In other words, to say that the Jew is a marginal man is to blur differentiation twice, for, by so doing, what "Jew" means psychologically has no more been indicated than "marginal man." Stonequist has not even begun his task when he states that the degree of maladjustment will vary with the individual and the situation, for it is only with *categories* of persons within the given racial or ethnic group, placed in *types* of situations, that the dynamic reality to which the term "marginal man" refers, assumes substance.

The application of the term to the American mulatto has not gone unchallenged either.

[6] Julian L. Greifer, "Attitudes to the Stranger," *American Sociological Review*, 10 (December, 1945), p. 745.

[7] "The Hybrid in Hawaii as a Marginal Man," *American Journal of Sociology*, 39 (January, 1934), pp. 459–468.

[8] "A Qualification of the Marginal Man Theory," *American Sociological Review*, 6 (February, 1941), pp. 52–58.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

Myrdal[10] questions Stonequist's assertion that the American mulatto represents a more extreme type of marginal man than does the pronounced Negroid type, since the many advantages enjoyed by the mulatto over his darker brother compensate for his frustrations. Louis Wirth and Herbert Goldhamer[11] raise a similar objection, and question the extent to which the *modern* mulatto ever "spontaneously identifies" with white society. There is also the important question of how recently the white blood was infused: a mulatto with two white grandparents presumably identifies less with white society than does the mulatto with one white parent.

The mulatto rarely results from a legitimate union. This means that he typically is brought up in a *Negro* home, surrounded by *Negro* relatives, in a *Negro* community. And, unlike the Anglo-Indian who lives in a true half-caste world,[12] and who comes close to exemplifying the ideal-type marginal man, the American mulatto has always been as absolutely segregated as the unmixed Negro.

And the American Negro, light or dark, comprises no ethnic-group, with a distinctive nationality, language, patriotic societies, and religion. Much as Negro spokesmen may deny it, the American Negro is "white-oriented," if for no other reason than that he has no distinctive cultural background, except possibly that of slavery, which hardly serves as a focal point about which to build race pride. It is significant that the reported attitude of Negroes toward those who "pass" into white society is tolerant, a sharp contrast with the attitude of the immigrant toward his children who change their names. In other words, there is an absolute block to striving outside the Negro group imposed by the whites and a relative tolerance for that striving on the part of Negroes. The "culture conflict" which serves as the basis for supposed personality-conflict is a *different* phenomenon from that in which the gentile-oriented Jew is involved. On the one hand he is grudgingly and indeterminately accepted by the dominant group, and on the other hand his own group violently opposes his defection.

Application of the concept to the non-Jewish second-generation immigrant raises even more searching questions. The present writer has had considerable experience with the family-backgrounds of several second-generation ethnic-groups in the northeast,[13] and this experience does not gear with the basic premise of the marginal man concept: that the marginal man exhibits symptoms of ambivalence, inferiority, etc., precisely because he feels disloyal to the group he is striving to leave. Stonequist asserts that the dilemma of the Jew is worse than that of any other American racial or ethnic group examined, because of the double necessity of adjustment and the retention of the Chosen People complex. But the retention of the Chosen People complex is, in turn, dependent upon the *deep familial identification fostered within the closely-knit Jewish family*.

As was noted above, there is in the marginal man concept the circular assumption that cultural conflict, *per se*, causes personality conflict: the individual is not marginal until he experiences "the group conflict as a personal problem," and that to the extent that the two cultures conflict, this conflict is experienced as a personal problem! Does this mean a disparity in two sets of cultural forms, or conflict between two cultural groups? Aside from the answer to this question, what is the mechanism by which "culture conflict" is *experienced* by the putative marginal man?

According to Stonequist:

The making of a new racial or national identification is forced by the violent emotional reaction against the old. The old identification, however, though bruised and shattered, continues to exist and troubles the mind.[14]

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[10] Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York, 1944).

[11] "The Hybrid and the Problem of Miscegenation," pp. 250–369, in *Characteristics of the American Negro*, Otto Klineberg (ed.).

[12] Elmer L. Hedin, "The Anglo-Indian Community," *American Journal of Sociology*, 40 (September, 1934), pp. 165–179.

[13] See "The 'Cult of Personality' and Sexual Relations," *Psychiatry*, 4 (August, 1941), pp. 343–348; "Field Research and the Concept of Assimilation" (with Nathan L. Whetten), *Rural Sociology*, 7 (September, 1942), pp. 252–260; *Ethnic Group Relations in a Rural Area of Connecticut* (Storrs, Connecticut, 1943), also with Nathan L. Whetten; "The Middle Class Male Child and Neurosis," *American Sociological Review*, 11 (February, 1946), pp. 31–41; "The Pattern of Mental Conflict in a State University" (with Stuart D. Loomis), to be published in the *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*.

[14] *Op. cit.*, p. 146.

In other words, "culture conflict" is the variable, and the "old identification" the constant. This will not hold. Discussed below are two second-generation groups whose situation so far as cultural differences between them and the dominant group is concerned, is constant, whereas a wide differentiation between the two second-generation groups in familial and ethnic-group identification is apparent. In one case the classic marginal man symptoms appear, in the other they do not.

Greek students have been coming in increasing numbers to a certain New England State college in recent years.[15] The families they leave are highly organized units, rural, religious, and fostering a degree of familial identification in excess of that indicated by even Jewish students. Codes of morals and manners are extremely strict in comparison with the "American" family of similar economic status. Taught to venerate parental wisdom and authority, to display interest in the opposite sex only when real courtship is the purpose and only then with the approval of both families, cautioned to associate only with other Greeks, and at the same time encouraged to strive for career-success *by their parents*, Greek adolescents at this time experience much more severe inner and overt conflict than heretofore.

There are two main elements in this conflict: they are cut off from home ties in a somewhat alien world which regards them as inferior; at the same time, their parents are pushing them on to "succeed," a striving which is regarded by the parents as a means of improving *familial* status, but which increasingly for the Greek student becomes a hope of improving *individual* status. Out of this complex arises the damaged self-conception, which is the psychological mark of the marginal man, complicated by the deep-seated guilt feelings which arise from the drinking, dating, necking behavior which are necessary for compus success, but which flout the familially internalized norms of moral conduct. The differences between Greek and Yankee student, in language, religion, home training, derive their dynamic significance, in the main, from that intensive internalization.

In a Polish industrial village,[16] the range of cultural differences between Poles and Yankees

was similar to that between Greeks and Yankees, in the case above cited. But *identification with parents is at a minimum* for a variety of reasons, the main one being that for the Polish peasant family life was never traditionally a matter of intensive personal relationships, but rather a rigid set of mutually integrated duties and obligations that fall apart in the industrial slum.

Parents are treated with either tolerant or bitter contempt by their thoroughly, albeit externally, Americanized offspring. These youngsters are simply not torn apart emotionally through refusal to obey, cutting their social life away from parental control, speaking American slang, becoming American swing addicts. Those who leave the village renounce their background where possible, change their names. But they do not develop marginal man symptoms.

Two further factors protect them emotionally. In the first place, they have a reduced success drive[17] in comparison with the second-generation Greeks. They are thus spared many frustrations, and a series of situations defined for them as ones in which they do not belong. Their but dim awareness of the more subtle aspects of status also protects them from becoming aware of their deficiencies (as defined in middle-class terms). They understand full well the American game of piling up money, but the middle-class emphasis on education, manners, mannerisms, culture in quotation marks, simply is beyond their ken.[18]

And in the second place, in a fashion similar to the Jewish second-generation sub-culture referred to above by Goldberg, they are protected during the period of maximum socialization by growing up in a community where first and second generation Poles are in a majority, and hence develop an in-group insulated conception of the American Way of Life. Within that second-generation group they receive full support in overtly deviating from the behavior-patterns their bewildered, broken-English speaking parents unsuccessfully attempt to perpetuate, and they remain indifferently aware of "rejection" by the Yankees.

[15] "The Pattern of Mental Conflict in a State University."

[16] "The 'Cult of Personality' and Sexual Relations," and "The Middle Class Male Child and Neurosis."

[17] If "culture conflict" means difference in cultural forms, in this respect the second-generation Greeks conflict less than the Poles; if it means group conflict, then the Poles conflict less!

[18] See Arnold W. Green, *Village Conditioning to Economic Failure*, a thesis presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the M.A. degree at The Pennsylvania State College, 1939.

Stonequist's assumption of a universal, deep familial identification would appear to be an extension of modern American middle-class values.

Enough has been stated to warrant a summary of qualifications made to the marginal man concept:

First, the hypothesis is offered that the marginal man symptoms Stonequist lists appear in proportion as major cultural differences are manifest, striving to leave the racial or ethnic group is present, and identification with the family of orientation is deep.

Second, the thesis is dependent, psychologically, on the degree of identification experienced with *both* groups, and, sociologically, on the extent of attraction by the group the marginal man is attempting to leave and repulsion by the group he is attempting to join. In the latter case, the hypothesis is offered that the mid-point of the range of repulsion is the one associated with the most critical personality-problems. Relatively, absolute rejection is probably easier to bear than grudging, uncertain, and unpredictable acceptance. This is one of the reasons why many Jews exhibit to a greater degree the classic symptoms of the marginal man than do most Negroes.

Third, the logical deduction that "external conflict" of the group finds its echo "in the mind of the individual" requires validation in specific research. Since there are degrees of difference, the important problem is to ascertain what those differences are,

and why they exist. Further, "external conflict of the group" needs to be differentiated into group conflict and differences in cultural forms: they do not co-exist and are not synonymous.

Fourth, the transitional groups erected by many second-generation adolescents and adults require further investigation. If, as has been claimed, they sometimes operate as areas of role- and goal-fulfillment, cushioning the shock of rejection by channeling aspiration in part within the transitional group, then here is a more valuable area of investigation than making further logical deductions between culture conflict and personality conflict.

Fifth, the claim that Park and Stonequist both make that the process of social change can best be studied in the mind of the marginal man seems questionable. The mind of the rejected striver is a most selective mechanism. The outer limits of his *personal* problem encompass only a segment of the totality of social forces. And he has but a limited control of the social processes that directly involve that personal problem. As Myrdal has pointed out,[19] the Negro problem is in reality a "white problem"—only the whites have the power to effect real changes in the status of the Negro, but the whites, north and south, have acquired very little insight into the Negro's personality, the Negro's problems.

[19] *Op. cit.*

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

AN ANALYSIS OF THE PRESENT NEGRO PRESS

JOHN H. BURMA

Grinnell College

IT IS generally agreed that the two most important and influential agencies for social control, for racial solidarity, and for moulding public opinion within the Negro group are the church and the press. One of these, the Negro press, is growing rapidly in both size and influence, and no one can hope to understand the dynamics of the "Negro problem" in the United States without some knowledge of the Negro press and the role it plays.

NUMBERS AND CIRCULATION

Some misunderstanding exists as to the actual number of Negro newspapers now in operation. A decade ago census reports listed many religious, fraternal, and business papers as newspapers. This is no longer done; only "general" newspapers are now included. The sometimes mentioned demise of "half the Negro press" never occurred. What did occur was a methodological change in the Bureau of Census calculations. According to the latest census reports,[1] there were some 155 Negro general newspapers in the United States in 1945.[2] This is a decrease of approximately 5½ percent over 1943. At the same time, average net circulation increased from 1,613,255 to 1,809,000, and advertising inches grew from just over two million to just under three million. The obvious conclusion is that Negro papers are decreasing in numbers but growing in size. This is emphasized by the over sixty per cent increase in numbers of employees from 1938 to 1945, and the fact that the four largest papers employed forty per cent of all such employees.[3] The most significant

section of the Negro press has definitely graduated from the "house organ" and "journal of opinion" class and is now managed as a large scale commercial enterprise. In discussing size it should be pointed out that in the case of Negro papers, unlike white dailies, the "net circulation" is far below actual number of readers, which is variously estimated at from three and a half to six million persons. At present Negro papers are published in the majority of our larger cities and in 32 states. From these states they circulate to all other states, a number of the larger papers claiming over half of their circulation to be out of state and publishing from two to seven separate editions to service widely separated areas.

Most literate Negros are exposed to the influence of the Negro press at least part of the time. A third of the urban Negro families regularly subscribe to Negro papers; the proportion is much smaller in rural areas. These readers include, however, the alert and articulate individuals who form much of Negro opinion. Newspapers are commonly passed from family to family and are likely to be available in barber-shops, shoe shine stands, lodge halls, and pool halls. Their contents are sometimes passed by word of mouth among those who cannot read.[4] When the southern Negro migrated to the North he could no longer get local news by gossip nor national news from his employer. He had to read a newspaper, and, for news about the Negro, he had to read the Negro press. Indirectly at least, the Negro press influences a significantly large proportion of the adult Negro population, and any institution touching the lives and helping to mould the attitudes of any large number of persons cannot lightly be dismissed.

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[1] Selected from U. S. Bureau of the Census, "Negro Newspapers and Periodicals in the U. S." Negro Statistical Bulletin No. 1, Washington, Dept. of Commerce 1939, 1940, 1944, 1946.

[2] A Dept. of Information, O.P.A., report of October 30, 1944 states that their Washington office was servicing 205 Negro newspapers. It may be that this discrepancy was partly accounted for by service to some publications classified by the Census as periodicals.

[3] The other extreme is a Negro newspaper syndicate which at one time published 53 weekly papers in a single plant. An agent in a local town selects a name,

sends in local news and advertising copy, secures subscriptions and handles circulation. The central editorial and technical staffs make up copy, supply national news, editorials, features, comics, etc., at low cost.

[4] Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (2 vols., New York; Harpers, 1944), p. 909.

HISTORY AND GROWTH

The history and growth of the Negro press from *Freedom's Journal* in 1827 to the present has paralleled the rising Negro protest and the increase in Negro literacy. First published in the North, Negro newspapers sprang up in the South during Reconstruction and followed the tide of Negro migration to the Northeast, Midwest, and West Coast. The first great impetus to the Negro press came with the coincidence of the great northward migration with the interest shown by Negroes in both the North and South in that migration, with the increased money income of most of the migrants, and the interest of the Negroes in the events of the first World War. Desire for news about the migration and the Negroes in the armed services gave the Negro press a hold on literate Negroes it has never relinquished. The second World War again increased unrest, suspicion, and dissatisfaction, which it was the opportunity of the Negro press to voice and organize. Again the inconsistencies between expressed war aims and the domestic policy were glaring; again there was discrimination in the armed forces and in industry; again the Negro people were hungry for news of "their boys" overseas. This time the Negro was even more vocal in his protests, and this time the government was more receptive to current complaints. Again the Negro press was in the vanguard of protest, and again circulation figures soared.[5]

MAJOR FUNCTIONS

That the present Negro press is first an organ of Negro protest and militancy and second a purveyor of Negro news is both evident and admitted. "The specialized press of minority groups ... reflects the consciousness of the group arising out of a conflict situation and functions primarily to promote the interests and welfare of the group."[6] It is a fighting press. It is a "safety valve in which certain stereotyped modes of compensatory behavior are regularly exhibited. It thrives on a racial interpretation of human events."[7] The

successes of Negroes in competition with whites are always played up. These successes seem to have two purposes: (1) to create heroes, (2) and to point out the opportunities for individual and race advancement. It makes a point of keeping Negroes everywhere informed of brutality, discrimination, and injustice anywhere; it keeps the Negro's mind on his troubles. It is frank about this purpose. An editorial in the largest Negro paper says the purpose of the Negro press is to voice and fight for the rights of Negroes; to keep Negro politicians from becoming docile and subservient; educators and social workers from compromising too much; and to expose those who have found personal profit and advantage in a conservative point of view. The Negro press, it says, has become the "Great Appraiser" of men, institutions and organizations affecting Negro life. "It has given coherent expression to the diversified aims, hopes and ambitions of millions, and has made Negroes more united. It has made the intelligent dissatisfactions of the few the protests of millions. It is about the only weapon in the possession of the Negro which our white opponents respect."[8]

A credo for the Negro press, written by Editor Bernard Young of the Norfolk *Journal and Guide*, the outstanding conservative Negro paper, has been widely circulated and copied. It reads in part:[9]

I shall be a crusader; I shall crusade for all things that are right and just ... and condemn all things that are unjust. ... I shall be an advocate of the full practice of the principles implicit in "Life, Liberty, and Justice for all." I shall be an advocate for these human and civil rights on behalf of those to whom they are denied, and I shall turn the pitiless light of publicity upon all men who would deny these rights to others ... I shall be a herald; a bearer of good and bad news. ... I shall herald these tidings, good and bad, in the faith that the people are free only if the truth is known by them. I shall herald those things that others would suppress out of bias or for any other reasons. I shall be a mirror and a record—a mirror of our existence as it is, and a record of our strivings to better that lot. ...

The late Robert S. Abbott, owner-editor of the radical *Chicago Defender* is often credited with revolutionizing the Negro press. He has been unofficially quoted as saying he founded his paper on the theory that Negroes would support anyone who

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 914–915.

[6] Ralph Nelson Davis, "The Negro Newspaper in Chicago," M.A. Thesis, University of Chicago (Chicago, 1939).

[7] Guy B. Johnson, "Some Factors in The Development of Negro Social Institutions in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology*, 40 (Nov. 1934), pp. 336–337.

[8] Pittsburgh *Courier*, March 4, 1944; circulation 205,000.

[9] Norfolk *Journal and Guide*, March 3, 1945.

took the lead in their fight for equality and justice, and that he believed a Negro newspaper could survive only as long as it adhered to that policy; that he built his paper through propaganda against the South, and that he told the truth if it suited his purpose.

It is to be presumed that the readers of the Negro press subscribe to its militant policy. Certainly they buy papers in ever increasing numbers. Two separate polls of Negro reader opinion, showed over ninety per cent of readers agreeing with this militantism. The *Chicago Defender* poll[10] further reported that 94 per cent of the Negroes questioned in Chicage read a Negro paper, and 65 per cent read two or more. Ninety per cent felt white people, too, should read Negro papers.[11] In answer to why they read the Negro press, 80 per cent said it was to find out what is going on that affects Negroes; 80 percent said they considered what the Negro press had to say before arriving at a final decision on national or local matters. Ninety-seven per cent said they felt the Negro press was the greatest influence in securing for the Negro first class citizenship and equality of opportunity.

During World War II the Negro press, with surprising unanimity, carried on a campaign for the complete integration of Negroes into all war-related activity. While these papers advised Negroes to support the war and commended partial relaxations of discrimination, their chief goals were no segregation in the armed forces, no discrimination in industry, and the progressive abolition of second class status in civilian life.[12] The most publicized of these programs was the "Double V" campaign for "victory at home as well as abroad." A pithy epitome of the whole attitude of the Negro press was the identifying closing line of a popular columnist "Buy another bond, but keep 'em squirming!"

It must be remembered that this press' chief excuse for existing is to select those items with a race angle and to play them up as they are played down in the white press. This makes it inevitable that many news items presenting unfavorable beliefs or actions of whites are presented. Incidents of white ill-will, virtually ignored by the white press, are given full space. Since the woes and grievances of the Negro are seldom if ever mentioned in the white press, such items are legitimate grist for the mill of the Negro press. This material is often handled in a relatively restrained fashion and without vilification, but all too frequently the presentations are barely within the laws of libel. This tendency, plus the tendency of the more radical papers to refuse sincerity of motive to either whites or Negroes who disagree with them, may well be the most outstanding indictment of the Negro press.

Although opinions expressed by the Negro press are rather similar throughout the nation, Negro papers in the South tend to be more cautious and less belligerent. This is offset by the large southern circulation of northern papers. In the South, where concerted action on the part of Negroes is usually so severely checked and where Negro leadership has to be accommodating most of the time, the Negro press serves as a safety-valve for the boiling Negro protest. This is possible because whites rarely see Negro papers and, when they do, seldom give them much heed. Also, the southern Negro press usually takes the precaution of attaching its protest not to local issues but to general principles, national issues, and news from distant points, while northern papers are less reluctant to carry the Negro protest into local issues.[13]

Newspapers which serve a common economic and social group tend to have many characteristics in common. This is true whether or not it is a racial group. Negro newspapers are in many respects similar to white papers. Certain characteristics are, however, more common in the Negro than the white press.

IMPORTANT CHARACTERISTICS

As previously mentioned, the Negro press is an organ of protest and race unity. This is its most fundamental and prominent characteristic, yet it is one of degree only. In comparison with the non-political white press, the amount of protest in Negro newspapers is tremendous, yet such material forms only a minor part of the total space used. According to *Fortune's* analysis, 32 percent of the space on the front page of Negro papers is news exclusively about Negroes, 35 percent is given to reporting or furthering friendly Negro-white relations, 18 percent is unfavorable to whites' conduct

[10] *Chicago Defender*, March 1, 1945.

[11] The *Defender* figures are much higher than those from other and possibly less biased sources.

[12] Cf. Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1945), pp. 401–402.

[13] Myrdal, *op. cit.*, p. 910.

in Negro-white relations, and 15 percent is neutral on such relations.[14] The inside pages of most Negro papers are given over chiefly to the reporting of "Negro" items such as society, religious and organizational news, sports, recreation, and advertisements.

A second important characteristic of the present Negro newspaper is its supplementary character. It does not attempt to tell all the news. It deals with the problems, triumphs, and prospects of being a Negro in America—no more. As such, it complements rather than competes with the white

TABLE 1

READING HABITS OF URBAN SOUTHERN NEGROES

	PER-CENT COMMON AND SEMI-SKILLED	PER-CENT SKILLED	PER-CENT BUSI-NESS AND PROFES-SIONAL	PER-CENT TOTAL
Read a local white paper	84	93	92	87
Read a local Negro paper	23	40	57	34
Read an out-of-town Negro paper..........	17	18	38	22

Source: Adapted from Paul Edwards' sample of Negroes in Birmingham, Atlanta, Richmond, and Nashville in his *The Southern Urban Negro as A Consumer* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1932), pp. 172–176.

press. One study of southern urban Negroes has shown that five-sixths of these Negroes read a Negro paper, as shown in Table 1. There is no real likelihood that this supplemental nature will change. Negro weeklies cannot compete with the white dailies' news coverage, employment opportunities, advertisements, local shopping opportunities, or daily comic features. White newspapers, on the other hand, will not compete with the Negro press in its functions of expressing Negro protest and do not compete in presenting Negro news. The average metropolitan daily carries only six or seven column inches per issue of news concerning Negroes, and even this is not of the same type as that found in the Negro press. Table 2 shows the classification by percentage of the news published in a Negro weekly and the news about Negroes published by a white daily in the same city during a comparable time.[15]

[14] *Fortune*, "Press Analysis", May 1945, p. 233 ff.
[15] Charles C. Berkley, "The Analysis and Classification of Negro Items in Four Pittsburgh Newspapers

It is obvious the above comparison is neither wholly consistent nor wholly comparable. The first column represents what one white newspaper thinks its white readers would like and itself wished to print, the other column represents what one Negro newspaper thinks its Negro readers would like and itself wishes to print. Nonetheless, the comparison shows a marked disparity in treatment, whatever the causes. The nearest white papers come to competing with the Negro press in pre-

TABLE 2

CLASSIFICATION OF NEWS IN A NEGRO PAPER AND NEWS ABOUT NEGROES IN A WHITE DAILY PAPER, EXPRESSED IN PERCENTAGES

CLASS	NEGRO PAPER	WHITE PAPER
Total......................	100.00	100.00
Cultural...................	1.89	21.77
Magazine..................	8.19	20.04
Sports....................	15.50	14.25
Opinion...................	5.74	8.82
Personal..................	.00	7.69
Sensational...............	44.60	7.29
Government...............	2.60	6.86
Economic.................	1.55	2.41
Human Interest...........	4.09	2.30
Other....................	15.84	8.57

Source: See footnote 15 in text.

senting news about Negroes is seen in the "Black Star" editions of some southern white dailies. In these editions the make-up of the paper usually remains the same except for the inclusion of an extra page or two of news, often chiefly local, concerning Negro persons and institutions. The clue to the lack of success of such "Black Star" editions probably lies in the fact that since the great majority of urban Negroes already read a white daily, the additional circulation gained is so small as to be almost negligible.

This lack of direct competition between the Negro and white press is further shown by the content of the average Negro paper. In one study of ten Negro papers[16] it was shown that while over forty percent of the space was devoted to news, only three percent was political news and less than one-half of one percent was foreign news. Busi-

1917–1937," M. A. Thesis, University of Pittsburgh (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1937), pp. 37-56.

ness news accounted for the incredibly small sum of one-eighth of one percent of the total inches. These findings are logical enough in view of the character of the Negro press and its readers, but are far different than is found in the study of white papers of comparable circulation.

The fact that most Negro papers are weeklies adds to their supplemental character. Over a dozen papers have at one time or other attempted to become dailies, but only one, the *Atlanta Daily World* which became daily in 1932, has succeeded.[17] This is not surprising, for Negro news is not always plentiful and white dailies cover the non-Negro news. Many have a nation-wide circulation, subscription costs are higher, and advertising does not pay well, for the large department stores do not wish to encourage Negro patronage and the smaller stores which gladly accept Negro trade do not advertise in any papers. Nevertheless, advertising revenue in Negro papers is slowly increasing as is the quality of its advertising. As more papers join the Audit Bureau of Circulation and as the larger papers do more unbiased research, some increase logically is to be expected.[18]

EDITORIAL POLICIES

In the Negro paper the editorials, columns, and other non-news items are given considerable space. This is to be expected, for Negro news is often rather scarce. The news itself is considerably edited, for much of it is presented for the purpose of protest. The Negro press is particularly prolific as to columnists, producing them of every shade of opinion, from all walks of life, of a great variety of styles, and of various races.

Regular editorials cover a wide variety of fields. A study[19] of the editorials in the largest Negro paper over a period of 12 years showed chief emphasis on social conditions and phenomena, politics, and economics. Included under the general heading of social conditions were editorials on such topics as lawlessness, segregation and discrimination, housing and sanitation, recreation,

the anthropological status of the Negro, conventions, the Ku Klux Klan, Negro leadership, and many others. In the many editorials dealing with political matters, such things were included as Negroes and voting, Negroes in political positions, presidential campaigns, local non-racial politics, and international relations concerning some twenty countries. As would be expected from the dates of the study, many editorials dealt with the economic depression and its relief, with labor unions, migration and immigration, economy among Negroes, the Negro in business, and related topics. Ranking a poor fourth and fifth in frequency as editorial topics were education and religion. The former including such topics as Negro students, educational expansion, value of education, Negro history and textbooks, and agitation in Negro schools. Most of the editorials on religious topics stressed the weaknesses found in Negro churches— racial enmity, worldliness, and lack of unity—and urged improvement. Other topics discussed editorially several times during the period studied included sports, drama, literature, music, obituaries, special observances, general progress of the Negro, heroism among Negroes, birth control, intermarriage, and comments from other papers.

A study of the editorials in the Chicago Defender for a period in 1943 and 1944 showed that almost half were concerned with national political issues, particularly those concerning the Negro as did the Anti-Poll Tax Bill. About one-sixth were on the war, chiefly complaints about Army and Navy discrimination; one-sixth were on foreign affairs, half of which were criticisms of British colonial policy in Africa. The remaining one-sixth were on local topics such as housing and jobs, or general topics such as Negro migration, postwar employment, or race relations.[20]

ITS SENSATIONAL NATURE

Most readers of the Negro press soon recognize its sensational nature. That is to say, the more widely read papers generally use sensationalistic techniques, but others, like the Norfolk *Journal and Guide* are more conservative in appearance and content, and many smaller papers lack the technical necessities for real sensationalism. This sensationalist touch need not be considered wholly condemnatory; yellow journalism is not an un-American trait. In fact, there is much evidence

[16] Gale G. Wallin, "A Study of the Content of Ten Negro Papers," M. A. Thesis, University of Iowa, 1935, p. 10.

[17] The latest attempt is by the *Dayton Bulletin*.

[18] Cf. "Advertising Eyes the Negro", *Tide* (March 7, 1947), condensed in *Negro Digest* (May 1947), pp. 82–88.

[19] Elizabeth Amalia Pinckney, "The Editorial Page of The *Pittsburgh Courier* 1923–1935," M. A. Thesis, Fisk University (Nashville, Tennessee, 1936).

[20] Drake and Cayton, *op. cit.*, pp. 406–410.

that the Negro press has simply borrowed this along with more desirable traits from the white papers which were its models. This finding is given point by the especially marked sensationalism of Negro papers in large cities where one or more Hearst papers are found. Some Negro papers have even lost circulation because Hearst papers and others did a better job of carrying "numbers" tips and other hints on the policy racket.[21]

Probably the main reason the Negro press tends to exaggerate the American pattern of sensational journalism is because the Negro community, compared with the white community, is so largely lower class. Even if all the members of the Negro upper class bought Negro papers, such an economic base would be completely insufficient. Perforce the main reading public must be the middle and lower class groups, and the expansion of circulation at which all papers aim must come, for the Negro press, chiefly from the lower strata of the Negro community.

Sensationalism is thus a rational policy. Its actuality may be ascertained from the headlines of almost any large paper, and may be evaluated and explained by a twelve year study of the front page of the Chicago *Defender*[22] which showed crime to rank first with 22.3 percent of all column inches, cartoons 18.8 percent, "people" 7.7 percent, government and politics 6.7 percent, interracial relations 6.1 percent, accidents 4.7 percent, in the order named. The high incidence of crime news in the Negro press is directly contradictory, at first glance, to the common complaint of the Negro that white papers give too much space to crimes by Negroes[23] and too little to any other Negro activities. This is only an apparent contradiction, for Negro papers deal with two separate types of crime news. One type, by Negroes against Negroes, is reported because most Negroes, like other lower class readers, enjoy sensational crimes. The other type, crimes against Negroes by whites, bulks even larger in the news stories and is the most sensationally handled. Lynchings are and always have been a specialty of the Negro press. As lynchings become fewer, assault, beatings, rape,

[21] Myrdal, *op. cit.*, p. 917.

[22] Abridged from Drake and Cayton, *op. cit.*, p. 402, table 14.

[23] A small but increasing number of liberal white papers no longer mention whether a criminal is Negro or white unless it has a direct bearing on the story.

and illegal imprisonment take their place. The northern Negro press, individually and collectively, seems never without some special "case" which it is exploiting to the fullest extent, and which usually is not dropped until another equally sensational case appears.

It is often charged, and not without foundation, that even the larger Negro papers print items without carefully checking the facts, or are guilty of seizing a phrase, sentence, or fact, pulling it from its context and building a story of injustice and prejudice. Some items are misleading, at best, and apparently deliberately so. During the war, for example, one of the largest papers carried on page ten the headline "Bann on Colored Army Nurses Continues," while five pages previously it had carried pictures of Negro nurses under the page-wide headline "Ready for Big Moment .... U. S. Nurses Go Through Final Paces Somewhere in Australia." A less glaring but far more famous furor revolved around the report of the Negro Assistant Secretary of War who investigated Negro troops during the Italian campaign. He reported that Negro troops as a whole had not done well—as was a matter of actual record—and gave extenuating circumstances: illiteracy rate, poor training, lack of confidence in white officers, poor morale, discrimination, mis-treatment, etc. The conservative *Journal and Guide* praised him highly for explaining clearly why the Negro troops had made a poor showing; the *Defender* formally demanded his impeachment as a traitor to the Negro soldier and said he was "guilty of crucifying the Negro soldier on a cross of prejudice."

THE SOCIETY COLUMN

It comes as something of a shock to many whites, on paging through a Negro paper, to see the Society Section; they are seldom aware of the existence of a Negro upper class so attentive to the social niceties. The society page is likely to be rather rigidly patterned after that of a white paper of comparable circulation and to approximate it in size. The importance of this feature lies in the apparent tendency of many upper and middle class Negroes to over-do their social activities as a part of their struggle for status as individuals. Because whites deny them social prestige, it is necessary for Negroes to create prestige and distinctive marks of prestige among themselves. Usually it is not so much the "arrived" upper class who strive for

publicity as those who are still striving for and aspiring to social recognition.

Apart from this, Negroes, in their isolated and hemmed-in world, enjoy reading about themselves in pleasant situations just like other Americans. Nor is this feature without its financial aspect, for the society news in the Negro papers, as in the white, is of real importance in its circulation. The Negro paper gives the majority of upper and middle class families a chance now and then to see one of the family displayed by name or picture as a member of some club, church, committee or class, or as attending some social function. In all fairness it must be added that news of the organizational activity within the segregated community serves a practical and utilitarian purpose of giving legitimate and needed information and publicity not offered by the white press.[34]

The chief characteristic which distinguishes many Negro society pages from those of white papers is the geographical diversity of the society notes in the papers with wide coverage. The *Pittsburgh Courier*, with its regional editions, has scores of special social correspondents all over the nation. The same page may contain, for example, special society columns from such diverse places as St. Petersburg, Fla.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Brandon, Miss.; Minneapolis, Minn.; Atlanta, Ga.; Jackson, Miss.; Hartsville, S. C.; St. Louis, Mo.; Gainesville, Ga.; Dorsey, Miss.; Kansas City, Mo.; Cheraw, S. C.; Indianola, Miss.; Memphis, Tenn.; Biloxi, Miss.; and Anniston, Ala.

THE COMICS

One of the truly important features of the white press is the comic section. Negro papers do not emphasize such cartoons to anything like the same degree, and in almost no cases do they use the same comic strips as do white papers. Without doubt the financial cost of such a page would be beyond the means of all but a very few Negro papers, and in any event most of the more famous cartoons are drawn to be read daily and would not retain their continuity if seen only once a week. Most Negro cartoons are by Negro illustrators and have Negroes as their central characters. These Negro cartoons may be classified into three major types: humorous, propagandistic, and mixed. Those of the first type have as their primary purpose to entertain; they avoid controversial or touchy subjects and are uniformly cheery if not always funny;

[34] Myrdal, *op. cit.*, pp. 919–920.

they have no axe to grind, and their continuity is sketchy to non-existent. Those of the second type are obviously and purposely propagandistic, they are not "comics" at all, but stories told with pictures. They are thoroughly race conscious and derisively caricature whites. The Negro in the hero, the villain is white, and anything humorous is incidental if not accidental;[25] the continuity is likely to be close and important. Jay Jackson's "Bungleton Green" and "Speed Jaxon" in the *Chicago Defender* are excellent examples. The third type of cartoon is more or less an amalgam of the previous two types. These are primarily for the purpose of humor and do not sacrifice humor to express racial discontent; many times, however, these two objectives can be combined, and it is this combination which gives this type of cartoon its characteristic flavor.

Above all things, the Negro cartoon does not poke fun at the Negro as a group. It may caricature an individual Negro and poke fun at him, or may lampoon some particular Negro class or institution. It is the exception rather than the rule, therefore, when you see the affable Bootsie— a fat, sleepy-eyed fellow in baggy mis-matched trousers, about to depart from a sumptuous party; effusively shaking the hand of his beaming hostess, he salutes her with, "Bon soir, Madamemoiselle Brown, the chitterlin's sho' was dee-vine!"

ADVERTISEMENTS

One of the striking and significant aspects of the Negro press is the amount and character of its advertising. Most businesses are run by whites and for whites, with Negro trade as incidental. The clientele these businesses primarily wish to reach is white, so there is obvious lack of return from advertising in the Negro press. Moreover, the Negro press is an additional paper; most Negroes who read Negro papers also read white papers. Many firms, the makers of nationally advertised goods for example, are deterred from using the medium of the Negro press because they feel such advertising would be mere duplication. Exceptions include Pepsi-Cola, Colgate-Palmolive-Peet, Vaseline, Hiram Walker, Seagram's, Schenley, Pabst, Pillsbury, Morton Salt, Gerbers, Philip Morris, Liggett and Myers, and P. Lorillard and Co. This prevalent attitude of national adver-

[25] Cf. John H. Burma, "Humor as a Technique in Race Conflict," *American Sociological Review* (Dec. 1946), pp. 710–715.

tisers is serious, for local advertisers, even those of the utmost good will, hesitate to use the Negro paper. Although all the largest Negro papers have local editions with special ad sections, weekly papers simply do not lend themselves as well to such advertising as do dailies, nor does a local merchant gain much from the ten to fifty percent out-of-state readers of the larger Negro papers. The average white daily received about two-thirds of its income from advertising and one-third from sales, while the proportion is reversed for Negro papers generally. One-third to three-fourths of this revenue is from white sources.

On the basis of his study of sixty-one Negro papers, Syrjamaki reports[26] that "the nationally circulating papers perform a negligible advertising function. Their advertising, not considerable in volume, is virtually completely national in appeal and consists of advertisements for hair and skin lotions, patent medicines, and generally questionable personal nostrums. Advertisements of hair and skin lotions, easily the richest advertising contracts for the Negro press, are, however, generally limited to the few larger, nationally circulating papers and do not often permeate into the ranks of small country sheets."

A study of types of nationally advertised commodities of services in 20 Negro papers[27] showed that 18.5 percent of the total number of ads were of this type. Over half concerned cosmetics, one-fourth patent medicines, one-eighth "good luck," and the remainder such items as food, insurance, and liquor. Of the total number of ads, over 54 percent were of the classified type. The author's study of the largest Negro paper found the following percentages in its box type ads: 23 percent hair tonics, straighteners, pomades, dyes; 20 percent medicines, pills, vitality restorers; 8 percent men's or women's haberdashery; 7 percent novelties; 6 percent selling deals; 6 percent deodorants, beauty creams, skin lighteners; 4 percent hotels; 4 percent wigs and attachments; 3 percent educational establishments; 3 percent perfumes; 3 percent metaphysics; 2 percent books; 11 percent miscellaneous, not over two ads of any one type.

These factors have combined to create a characteristic type of advertising in the Negro paper. First, since few white firms actively seek Negro patronage, most advertisements are by Negro concerns, most Negro concerns minister chiefly to some "racial" need,[28] so that the advertising section of a Negro paper has a peculiar flavor all its own, despite the fact that such ads are dispersed among those for staple products used alike by both races.

AS AN ORGAN OF SOCIAL CONTROL

Having discussed its size and distribution, the major policies which control the Negro press and the results of these policies as seen in the general characteristics of Negro newspapers, we now come to the most important single aspect of the current Negro press—its social control. The answer as to who forms the policies of the Negro press is not simple, nor can it be given in generalized terms. This press is not and never has been a unit. It not only does not have a "party line" in the Communist sense, it seldom can agree within itself on even the barest fundamentals. One is tempted to answer the question by asking another, "Who controls the white press?" As a matter of fact, Myrdal[29] seems to have chosen the soundest method for such inquiry by listing the controls of the white press and then analyzing them in terms of the Negro press.

Many white newspapers in America originated as political mouthpieces. This control, although much less common, is still to be found. In the case of the Negro press, its day of political control was short. Immediately after the Civil War a number of Negro newspapers were established under the aegis of the Republican Party. These flourished during Reconstruction, but, as soon as southern Democrats achieved full control of state and local governments, it became clear that such newspapers were useless and, deprived of their politico-financial support, most immediately disappeared. In the North the Negro is and for some time has been a political factor. Yet it has been for decades the policy of Negro leaders to "reward our friends and punish our enemies." Only the conviction that the Democratic party was a real enemy kept Negroes securely in the Republican

[26] John Syrjamaki, "The Negro Press in 1938," *Sociology and Social Research*, 24, No. 1 (Sept.–Oct. 1939), p. 51.

[27] Rhoda Gooden-Irving, "Advertising in Negro Newspapers," M. A. Thesis, Ohio State University, 1935, pp. 17 and 32.

[28] Such as hair pomade too thick for soft, straight hair; skin lightener; or books about Negroes.

[29] Myrdal, *op. cit.*, pp. 920–923. The following presentation makes partial use of this outline.

fold. This very security prevented either party from seeing much virtue in sponsoring Negro newspapers, and, as the Negro more and more demonstrates his deep willingness to change parties whenever he can strike a better bargain, such subsidization of the press continues to appear rather fruitless. Thus political parties, potentially an important social control of the Negro press, in actuality exercise little if any such control; nor does there appear much likelihood that this condition will be altered in the forseeable future except for small papers which may spring up in large, key, northern cities before an election and then quietly drop out of existence after the election is over.

Some white newspapers represent the vested interest of "capital," some of "labor." This is but little true of the Negro press. The owners, editors, and most vocal constituents of the Negro press belong to the middle and upper class. Their ideology is basically the ideology of the white upper and middle class, and they tend to set the general tone of the Negro newspaper. Indeed, the Negro press is one of the chief agencies by means of which the Negro upper class spreads its opinions among the lower classes of the Negro community. On the other hand, this group of upper class editors and publishers is by no means free from the financial control of the lower class. A large portion of the paying subscribers, who are the financial life-blood of the Negro press, are not in the upper class, nor is the great bulk of potential subscribers. Thus, being realists, Negro newspaper men either present fairly or take a radical stand on matters concerning the welfare or interests of the lower class. We thus find Negro editors, who personally may be reactionaries, publishing hot editorials in favor of labor unions or lower taxes for the lower income brackets. What exists is a sort of check-and-balance system which makes for a blending of liberalism and conservatism rather than a dominance of either.

The most potent source of control in the white press is the "big advertiser." As has been previously mentioned, the "big advertiser" is a *raris avis* in the Negro newspaper world. This paucity of advertising has a dual effect: it means that in the absence of such advertisers this source of control is negligible, but, where such advertising accounts do exist, they are of the utmost importance. It is therefore most difficult to evaluate the role played by advertisers in the control of the Negro press. Some papers depend primarily on subscriptions and are thus indirectly controlled by the readers; yet every large Negro community abounds in rumors that this or that paper "sold out" to an advertiser. In short, the control exerted by advertisers ranges from practically nil to almost complete ability to dictate the paper's policy on specific issues. Compared with the white press as a whole, the Negro press seems to be less advertiser-controlled and more subscriber-controlled.

POSSIBLE FUTURE

What the future of the Negro press will be cannot be other than conjecture; yet the extrapolation of existing trends offers more than a mere guess. It is thus to be expected that the trend toward fewer and larger Negro papers is to continue. That improvement in journalistic techniques, mechanical plants, and quality of reporting will also continue seems eminently logical. Negro illiteracy is declining yearly and the total Negro population growing, thus at least some increase in potential readers is assured. Very slowly the Negro press is securing an increasing share of national and local advertising, which, whatever it may mean in terms of social control, will assure a somewhat sounder financial structure for individual papers. The literate Negro, uprooted from his community relationships by the continued migration from the South, may be expected to turn to the Negro press to fill the place once taken by gossip and conversation. As the tide of Negro protest continues to rise and becomes even more vocal and well organzied and as race consciousness and race solidarity increase, the protest function of the Negro press will remain unimpaired or even will expand. Expressed in terms of institutional life cycles, the Negro press is somewhere between the period of efficiency and the beginning of formalism, and in either case, greater growth is to be expected.

THE CHANGING STANDARD OF LIVING: A STUDY IN ACCULTURATION*

JITSUICHI MASUOKA

Fisk University

I

IN A concrete situation the scale of living and the standard of living[1] are intertwined: they are the two aspects of the same whole and are separable only conceptually. The scale of living is in part an objective manifestation of the standard of living; the former is a cultural and the latter a personal reality. They do not exist in abstraction; they exist in interaction. Man's consumption behavior is not purely and simply economic, but it is economic behavior that is culturally determined and personally motivated. Broadly speaking these needs can best be satisfied within and through the existing social institutions. Thus, any fundamental analysis of the manner in which man meets his needs must be made in terms of attitudes and values, for they are the determinants of one's standard and level of living.

It is evident that the standard and the content of living common to a group of people can be ascertained best through the observation of the concrete behavior of people in a community. Through informal conversation, specific aspirations and social motivations of people can be determined; through careful analysis of their consumption patterns, in terms, not only of the incomes, but also of the wider context of social institutions, an explicit manifestation of a people's standard can be

shown; and finally, through a detailed study of life-histories of individuals in the community, a set of factors and forces that brings about an orderly change in the standard of living can be measured.

In this study of one hundred families on a Hawaiian sugar plantation, the effort was made to measure their standards and scales of living and to show how they interact to produce and maintain a new scheme of living. By means of the statistical procedure, the study sought to describe various patterns of consumption and their relation to incomes. By way of the broader point of view, the study endeavored not only to explain factors giving rise to and determining the character of the new social needs but also to indicate how these needs, once they emerged in the society, brought about changes in standards of living of the people.

Although in this study the materials have been drawn from a single cultural group within a single community, the findings are intended to throw light on the conditions and factors underlying the process of acculturation in general.

II

For this study the data were drawn from 100 household records assembled by the present writer. These families were chosen from three plantation "camps" on the island of Maui.[2] At the time of

[2] In view of our objective it was important to confine the field work to a single community. The three camps studied were situated within a half mile radius of a sugar factory. The writer knew the people in the community, for he had resided in one of these camps for nearly ten years before coming to the mainland United States.

the study there were 246 Japanese families living in these three camps and the 100 families studied comprised nearly 41 percent of the total. However, of the total of 246 families 85 families failed to meet fully the requirements of a "good sample."[3] When they were excluded from the total Japanese families in the community, the percentage of the families investigated equalled 62 percent of the total of 161 families which might have been studied.

In the 100 families studied, there were 672 persons. Of this total, 342, or 51 percent, were males and 330 or, 49 percent, females. The mean age for the whole group was 24.2 years: 49.4 percent of the total were less than 15 years; 37.2 percent belonged to the age bracket, 15–44; and the remaining 13.4 percent were 45 years old and over.

There were 96 male heads and 99 housewives: the mean age for the former was 47.1, and for the latter, 39.4. Of the total of 195 male heads and housewives, 78 male heads and 76 housewives were born in Japan, and more than three-fourths of them came from the Chugoku and Kyushu regions. For the first generation male heads and housewives, the average length of residence in the Hawaiian Islands was 31 and 21 years, respectively. Moreover, all the *Issei* persons, save two, had been on the same plantation since their coming to Hawaii.

Of the total of 347 persons, 15 years old and over, 230, or nearly 68 percent, were gainfully employed either without or within the plantation. Whereas of the persons 20 years old and over, nearly ninety percent were working.

SPECIFIC METHOD OF STUDY

Every cooperating family was canvassed daily for a period of 30 successive days. During the first five months (beginning with October 1933 and ending with February 1934), 70 families were called upon, and the remainder of 30 families, during the months of April, May, and June 1934. The wide-

[3] In this study the criteria of a "good sample" were as follows: (1) the family should be a sociological unit; (2) at least a major portion of the household income should come from the plantation in a form of wage or salary; and, (3) the head of the family should be the *Issei* born in Japan proper. (There were, however, four *Nisei* family heads but their parents came from Japan proper). The last requirement was employed to minimize as much as possible the traditional variation in cultures and customs.

spread practice among the people on the plantation of buying on credit facilitated the recording of their daily purchases. A record of what these families bought was transcribed from the bills of sale to the writer's daily sheets. Other items of food, ordinarily paid for in cash, were reported orally to him. These items included vegetables, fruits, candies, loaves of bread, fish, meats, and other small groceries. Every item of food recorded was specified as to name, kind, amount, and cost.

At the end of the 30 days, the total cost of foods bought was summarized by specific items of food. The writer called on every housewife after the summation was completed and made necessary readjustments as to the amount and cost of foods per month. The materials obtained in this manner were classified according to the major food groups. They were: (1) cereals, (2) fats, (3) fruits, (4) vegetables, (5) legumes and their products, (6) milk, (7) protein foods, (8) sugar, and (9) miscellaneous. In the same manner the expenditures on other items in the family budget were checked and adjusted.

The information as to the annual family cash income for every family was obtained from each housewife at the close of the study in June 1934. The cash income of each member of the family was checked and cross-checked with other informants in the community. Owing to the very close communal life that these people maintained in the camps, the monthly income of most of the families was common knowledge of a large portion of the people in the neighborhood. Knowing this fact, every housewife gave accurate information: there was a high degree of agreement between her own statement and that of others in the community.

Amount and Sources of Income. "Income" as used in this study includes all cash receipts which went into the general family purse. The income in kind, especially those of the plantation perquisites, were excluded. In the case of working children, only those sums contributed to the general family fund were classified as "income." The amount of money kept by them and spent for their own personal needs was excluded.[4]

[4] This is, in essence and substance, the definition adopted by the Hiller Committee studies. See Emily H. Huntington and Mary G. Luck, *Living on a Moderate Income*, (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1938), pp. 34–35.

The annual cash incomes of all the families covered in this study ranged from $600 to $2,969. The mean income for the group was $1,194; the median, $1,070; and the crude mode, $875; indicating a positive skewness. There were 25 families with annual cash family incomes of less than $800; 50 families with less than $1,670; and, 75 families with less than $1,514. By income classes, 8 families had a mean annual income of $683; 35 families had a mean income of $879; 31 families

income classes revealed that the proportional contribution of the father and the mother decreased steadily as the mean annual income increased. In the case of the father, the percentage contribution decreased from 81.6 percent of the total income in the lowest income class (that is, less than $750) to 36.4 percent in the highest income class ($2,000 and over). Somewhat in the same manner, the mean percentage contribution of the mother decreased from 13.7 percent in the lowest income

TABLE 1

INCOME, SOURCES OF INCOME OF 100 JAPANESE FAMILIES ON A HAWAIIAN PLANTATION FOR 1933–1934

Average Annual Family Cash Income, Sources of Income, Percentage of each Source as of the Total Family Cash Income, by Income Classes

FAMILY CASH INCOME CLASSES	NUMBER OF FAMILIES	TOTAL	AVERAGE FAMILY CASH INCOME BY SOURCES OF INCOME*				
			Father	Mother	Son	Daughter	Other sources
All classes......................	100	$1194	$728	$108	$254	$52	$52
Less than $750..................	8	683	557	94	7		24
$750–999.......................	35	879	633	114	86	18	28
$1000–1499.....................	31	1169	768	119	185	36	61†
$1500–1999.....................	21	1668	845	78	606	101	38
$2000 and over..................	5	2553	931	142	786	266	431
Percentage							
All classes......................	100	100.0	61.0	9.1	21.3	4.3	4.3
Less than $750..................	8	100.0	81.6	13.7	1.2		3.5
$750–999.......................	35	100.0	72.0	13.0	9.8	2.0	3.2
$1000–1499.....................	31	100.0	65.7	10.2	15.8	3.1	5.2†
$1500–1999.....................	21	100.0	50.7	4.7	36.3	6.0	2.3
$2000 and over..................	5	100.0	36.4	5.6	30.8	10.4	16.8

* Based on the total number of families in each income class.

† Included in this category is the combined earning of $840 of two brothers who were sharing the same house and who contributed all of their earnings to their eldest brother, acting as the head of the family.

had a mean income of $1,668; and finally, there were 5 families whose mean income came to $2,553.

The mean annual family income of the father per family (computed on the basis of the total families studied) was $728, or 61.0 percent, of the total family income. The next in the order of importance was the contribution of the sons and daughters whose combined income per family, amounted to $306, or 25.6 percent of the total. The mean annual contribution of the mother per family, was $108, or 9.1 percent of the total; finally the mean income per family from "other sources of income" came to $52, or 4.3 percent of the total mean annual income.

The percentage contribution by sources and by

class to 5.6 percent in the highest income class. This percentage decrease in the contribution of the parents to the family income was due to the steady increase in the cash contribution of the working children, particularly the sons. The percentage contribution of the latter increased from 1.2 percent in the lowest income class to 30.8 percent in the highest income class. Of the daughters, the percentage contribution increased from 2.0 percent in the $750–999 income class to 10.4 percent in the highest income class. In the nature of things, relative contributions from "other sources" remain small: only in the last income class, $2,000 and over, was this item significant.

However, in terms of the per person earnings, the gross income was higher than was shown in Table 1. For example, the 96 fathers contributed toward the family income, on the average, $759. The 68 sons and 30 daughters contributed on the average $374 and $173 per person, respectively. Sixty mothers contributed on the average $180 per person. There were 35 families drawing incomes from "other sources" and the mean contribution from this source came to $144 per family. Per person contributions by income classes indicated that every source of income increased in amount as the incomes increased.[5]

income class to 9.0 persons in the highest income class. In terms of the household size index, the increase was from 2.9 persons to 4.9 persons in the same income classes. Likewise, the percentage of children under five years old as of the total number of children in the families studied, decreased from 53.8 percent in the lowest income class to 4.6 percent in the higher income class, $1,500–1,999. There were no children of this age in the highest income class.

The foregoing analysis of the family incomes leads us to conclude that the increase of the cash

TABLE 2

INCOME OF 100 JAPANESE FAMILIES ON A HAWAIIAN PLANTATION FOR 1933–1934

Average Annual Family Cash Income, Number of Families in each Income Class, Size of Families, Age of Mothers, Percentage of Children less than 5 years old, by Income Classes

| INCOME CLASSES | NUMBER OF FAMILIES | AVERAGE ANNUAL FAMILY CASH INCOME | SIZE OF FAMILY | | AVERAGE AGE OF MOTHERS | PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN, LESS THAN 5 YRS. OLD[†] |
			Actual	Household size index*		
All income classes	100	$1194	6.5	3.6	39.4	21.8
Less than $750	8	683	5.2	2.9	28.8	53.8
$750–999	35	879	6.2	3.2	38.8	27.0
$1000–1499	31	1169	7.0	3.7	39.0	25.7
$1500–1999	21	1668	6.6	4.0	47.5	4.6
$2000 and over	5	2553	9.0	4.9	45.4	

* Household size index based upon the cost-consumption unit scale is computed by using the scales suggested by Kirkpatrick.

† The percentage was arrived at by dividing the number of children less than 5 years old by the total number of children. In the last category was included all the offspring now living with the mothers irrespective of age or sex.

The mean annual family cash income by size of family revealed that, as the size increased, the mean income also increased. For the whole group the mean number of persons in a family was 6.5 and in terms of the average household size index[6] it was 3.6. The average size of the family for a group with an average income of $683 per year was 5.2 persons, and 2.9 persons in terms of the average household size index. There was a progressive increase in the mean annual family income and this was associated with the corresponding increase in the family size and in the household size index. In the size of the family, the increase was from 5.2 persons per family in the lowest

income of the plantation Japanese family depends upon its ability to maintain itself as an economic and social unit. This fact has not only an important bearing upon the scales and standards of living but also upon the surplus and deficit of the families.

Surplus or Deficit. As shown in Table 3, for the group as a whole there was the mean net surplus of $91 for the current year, ending June 30, 1934.[7] There were 65 families with a mean net surplus of $188 per family and 35 families with an average deficit of $88 per family. However, in

[5] See Table 1.

[6] For an explanation of the terms, "cost-consumption unit scale" and "the household size index," see page 184 of this article.

[7] Net surplus for the current year ending June 30, 1934 was computed by subtracting the total expenditure from the total family income. Net deficit means simply that the expenditure was greater than the income.

terms of the mean net balance[8] there were 43 families with an average surplus of $199 per family and 57 families with an average deficit of $240. The average net balance for the whole group was minus $51. Much of the discrepancy between the average net surplus of $91 and the net balance of minus $51 was due to the fact that the accumulated debts to stores over several years were included in the family deficit.[9]

The average surpluses or deficits by different income classes show that as the mean income

former was minus $117 and plus $91 for the latter. The difference between the surplus and deficit was significantly dependent upon the increase in the size of families, since, as has been shown, the larger the family size the greater was the income.

In view of this foregoing analysis, it was found useful to reclassify the 100 families in this study in terms of the average household size index. For each family the household index was computed by first reducing individuals in the family by assigning each individual relative weights for food, clothing

TABLE 3

INCOME, VALUE OF CONSUMPTION, AND SURPLUS OR DEFICIT OF 100 JAPANESE FAMILIES ON A HAWAIIAN PLANTATION FOR 1933–1934

Average Annual Family Income, Annual Value of Consumption, Average Net Surplus or Deficit, Number and Amount of Families having a Surplus or Deficit, and Net Balance, by Income Classes

(Amounts expressed in dollars)

FAMILY INCOME GROUP	NUMBER OF FAMILIES	AVERAGE ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME	AVERAGE ANNUAL VALUE OF CONSUMPTION[†]	AVERAGE NET SURPLUS (+) OR DEFICIT (−)[‡]	FAMILIES HAVING A SURPLUS OR DEFICIT				AVERAGE NET FOR ALL FAMILIES[§]
					Number		Amount		
					+	−	+	−	
All income classes	100	$1194	$1109	+91	65	35	$188	88	$−51
Less than $750	8	683	696	−13	3	5	97	80	−202
$750–999	35	879	872	+15	20	15	107	92	−117
$1000–1499	31	1169	1107	+68	19	12	158	72	−63
$1500–1999	21	1668	1450	+125	19	2	146	81	+91
$2000 and over	5	2553	1978	+590	4	1	485	281	+466

* Based on the total number of families in each income group.

† The sum of expenditures for family living.

‡ Average deficit or surplus is determined by the difference between the two and divided by the total number of families in each income group.

§ Included in the average net balance of the year ending June 30, 1934 is the amount of cumulative debts to stores up to that date.

increased the net surplus also increased. In the case of the lowest income class, less than $750, the average deficit was $13, but the mean net balance for the group was as large as minus $202. Of the highest income class, $2,000 and over, the net surplus was $590 and the net balance was plus $466. Even when the income levels of $750–999 and $1,500–1999 were taken and compared, the average net surplus was $15 for the former and $125 for the latter; while the net balance for the

and other categories: they were then totaled and divided by seven, since there were seven categories treated in this study. For example, family #97 was made up of the following individuals: husband, 55 years old; wife, 49; daughters 23 and 10; sons, 17, 13, and 7. By applying the cost-consumption unit scales suggested by Kirkpatrick,[10] the household size index for this family was 4.5 for food; 7.2 for clothing; 3.0 for furnishings and portable equipment; 3.0 for household operation; 3.0 for maintenance of health; 3.1 for advancement; and, 3.8 for personal care. The total relative weight

[8] The net balance is the difference between the sum of surpluses and deficits for 100 families, divided by the total number of families covered in this study.

[9] Through the cooperation of the store managers, the total debts as of June 30, 1934, were secured from their books.

[10] E. L. Kirkpatrick and Evelyn G. Tough, "Comparison of Two Scales for Measuring the Cost or Value of Family Living," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVII (1931), 424–434.

equalled 27.6 and the household size index was 3.9.

There were 8 families belonging to family type 2; 37 families belonging to family type 3; 40 families belonging to family type 4; and 15 families belonging to family type 5.1. The average annual family income for family type 2 was $869 and the average value of consumption was $734: the average net surplus was $115 and the average net balance was $96. For family type 3 the average net surplus was $96 with a net balance of minus $3. For family type 4 the surplus was $79 but the net balance was minus $119. For the last group,

income class ($1000–1499) represents family life in its adulthood: some children are grown up enough to work within or without the plantation and contribute toward the family fund. At the second stage the family begins to pay back some of its old debts or barely makes both ends meet, should the family be large. The highest income class ($2000 and over) represents the family that has reached its complete maturity or the end of its natural cycle. Mothers are no longer producing and most of the children are working. In this stage of development, the family gets out of debt and begins to save. With the marriage of their

TABLE 4

INCOME, VALUE OF CONSUMPTION, AND SURPLUS OR DEFICIT OF 100 JAPANESE FAMILIES ON A
HAWAIIAN PLANTATION FOR 1933–1934

Average Annual Family Income, Value of Consumption, Average Surplus or Deficit, Number and Amount of
Families Having a Surplus or Deficit, Number and Amount of Family

FAMILY TYPES IN HOUSEHOLD SIZE INDEX*	NUMBER OF FAMILIES	AVERAGE ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME	TOTAL VALUE OF CONSUMPTION	AVERAGE NET SURPLUS (+) OR DEFICIT (−)	FAMILIES HAVING A SURPLUS OR DEFICIT				AVERAGE NET BALANCE
					Number of families		Actual Average Amount		
					+	−	+	−	
All Families types†	100	$1194	$1109	$91	65	35	$188	$88	$−51
2	8	869	734	115	7	1	156	176	+96
3	37	1018	923	96	22	15	207	67	−3
4	40	1239	1162	79	27	13	167	103	−119
5.1‡	15	1652	1564	87	9	6	231	128	67

* Household size index was computed in terms of the cost-consumption unit scale.

† Family type 2 includes all families whose household size index ranges from 1.5 to 2.49; family type 3 includes all families whose index ranges from 2.5 to 3.49, etc. In other words, 2, 3, 4, and 5 are the midpoints.

‡ In the last group the mean instead of the midpoint was used, because there were only two families whose household size index exceeded 5.5.

the average net surplus was $87 with the net balance, minus $67.

The foregoing discrepancy shows not only the difference in the surplus or deficit but also the cycle of the immigrant family on the plantation. The lower income brackets (less than $1000) represent the families in their early stage of development. At this stage the father alone is the contributor and the mother is the producer of children. In the face of the increasing size of the families, the pressure of the number upon the family income begins to show itself and the debts to stores and to other financial transactions—as *Tanomoshi*—become greater as the number of children increases. Only the small families seem able to hang on during this period. The middle

children the family soon loses one of the chief sources of income.

In spite of the difference in the family incomes among the various families, there is very little class distinction on the plantation. Any individual who acts as if he is better than others is always reminded by others with the common saying: "After all you came with only one *Koli*." In other words: "You are no better than anyone of us." This tends to bring a considerable homogeneity in the expenditure patterns of these families, especially along the lines of the basic household necessities. In spite of the effort to break loose from the control of communal life, the *Nisei* find themselves bound to the customary way of life so long as they remain on the plantation.

The homogeneity in the consumption pattern, as will be noted in the pages immediately following, is a temporary thing. Owing to the fact that the increase in family incomes on the plantation is a function of the increase in incomes by the working children and, since these children are to a large degree Americanized, the consumption pattern of these Japanese families is affected far more significantly by the non-economic factors than by the increase in the income.

PATTERNS OF CONSUMPTION

By the pattern of consumption is meant the way that the total value of the goods and services used by families is distributed among such categories as food, shelter, clothing, and others.[11] In this study a broader classification of consumption into food, clothing, furnishings and portable equipment, household operation, maintenance of health, advancement, personal care and "other items" was used instead of the comparatively large number of categories—fifteen in all—which is generally used by economists. The broader classification facilitates the use of the cost-consumption unit scales[12] which in turn enables us to reduce the varied family composition to a common denominator of the average household size index. From the standpoint of a sociological analysis, the broader classification gives a sufficiently detailed picture of the cost or value of living of the people studied. Moreover, by enabling us to reduce

[11] D. Monroe, Dorothy S. Brady, et als., Family Income and Expenditures (Washington, D. C.: United States Department of Agriculture, Miscellaneous publication, No. 465, 1941), p. 13.

[12] According to Kirkpatrick: "The consumption unit scales were planned to take account of variations in physical and social needs and wants due to sex and age as well as variations in the relative demands made by the third or fourth or other additional members of the family on the separate elements of living. The supplementary costs required to meet the demands of an additional member of the family unit vary with the kind of goods and services used. This is true with clothing and food, especially if the additional member is a son or daughter in the late teens. On an average, added costs for clothing for the son or daughter of this age are one and one-half times the cost for either parent, while the added costs for food are apparently about 80 percent of this cost. In the same way costs meeting the physical and social demands made by each additional member of the family on rent, education, recreation, and the like vary out of proportion to the demands of the parents."—op. cit., p. 425.

families to a common unit, household size index, we can make an analytical study on the basis of a relatively limited number of cases.

The nature of the goods and services, rather than the purpose for which they were used, has in most cases governed the classification of individual items. For example, expenditures for refreshments for a party were classified as food and not recreation. Special clothing for games, sports, or for holiday uses only was included with clothing, rather than with advancement. However, in some instances, classification was based on the purpose for which goods were bought. For example, canned fruits, bags of rice, or fish bought solely to be used as gifts were classified under personal care and not under food. Radio and pianos have been included in household furnishings; board and room for children away at school were classed under advancement rather than under personal care or food and shelter.[13]

At each income level the average value of consumption increased as the mean annual family

[13] Furnishings and portable equipment include the following items: bedding and household linen; cleaning equipment—broom, brush, mop; curtains, window shades; floor coverings; furnishings—beds, including spring, chairs, tables; kitchen utensils; electric bulbs; laundry equipment; musical instruments—radio, piano, ukulele; pictures, vases, clocks; screens; sewing equipment—machine, needles, threads, etc.; stoves and hichirin; tableware, chinaware; trunks, suitcases, baby carriages; wash bowl, basin, and furo.

Household operation includes the following: automobile; firewood, charcoal, electricity, kerosene; ice; starch, washing powder, washing brush, bluing, laundry soap; toilet soap, matches, paper napkins, toilet paper, cleaning materials, miscellaneous supplies; laundry done outside; telephone, stationery and postage, parcel post, express, freight; carfare, train or bus; and interest on loan for general expense.

Maintenance of health includes the following: dental work; oculist and glasses; doctor's fee and medicine; and hospital and nurse's fees.

Personal care includes the following: service of barber and hair dresser; candy; gifts to others; jewelry, tobacco, pipes, toilet articles; and bath fee.

Advancement includes: Public and Japanese language; school tuition; books and supplies; transportation; lodging and board; music lessons, sewing lessons, dancing lessons; reading matter, magazine, newspapers; public welfare—church, social and civic organization; taxes—income and head taxes; recreation—movies, dances, picnics, fair, toys, athletic equipment; vacation and pleasure trips; and, vocational or professional dues.

cash income rose. However, the rise in the mean income was more conspicuous than the increase in the average value of consumption. Only in the income class, less than $1,000, was there found a tendency for families to live beyond their incomes. Broadly speaking it appears that other families have been living within their incomes in order to pay back, either their old debts to stores or new debts to *tanomoshi-ko*, or both.

As shown in Table 5, the total value of consumption, exclusive of the plantation perquisites, was $1,109. Of this total, $499, or 45.0 percent, was

within which 43 families studied were found, food alone accounted for $416 or almost half (49.6 percent) of the total value of consumption. If the plantation perquisites of approximately $200 a year were included in the computation, the percentage of food cost came to 40.1 percent. In the income class, $1,000–1,499, in which 31 families were found, food accounted for $508, or 45.9 percent, of the total value of consumption. When, however, the perquisites were included in the total value of consumption, the proportion of the money spent on food came to 38.9 percent. For the last

TABLE 5

VALUE OF CONSUMPTION AS DISTRIBUTED AMONG MAJOR CATEGORIES OF GOODS AND SERVICES FOR 100 JAPANESE FAMILIES ON A HAWAIIAN PLANTATION, 1933–1934

Number of Families, Average Value of Consumption, and Distribution of Value of Consumption Among Major Categories of Goods and Services, by Income Classes

FAMILY INCOME CLASS	NUMBER OF FAMILIES	AVERAGE ANNUAL INCOME	AVERAGE VALUE OF CONSUMPTION	AVERAGE EXPENDITURES* FOR (IN DOLLARS)							
				Food	Clothing	Furnishings and portable equipment	Household operation	Maintenance of health	Advancement	Personal care	Other items
All income classes...	100	1194	1109	449	154	66	123	36	114	92	25
Less than $1000....	43	843	838	416	103	38	92	20	73	71	25
$1000–1499........	31	1169	1107	508	150	64	117	35	117	95	21
$1500 and over.....	26	1806	1550	626	242	113	180	62	177	123	27
Percentage Distribution											
All income classes....................			100.0	45.0	13.9	6.0	11.1	3.2	10.3	8.3	2.2
Less than $1000....................			100.0	49.6	12.3	4.5	11.0	2.4	8.7	8.5	3.0
$1000–1499....................			100.0	45.9	13.6	5.8	10.5	3.2	10.5	8.6	1.9
$1500 and over....................			100.0	40.4	15.6	7.3	11.6	4.0	11.4	7.9	1.7

* All averages are based on the total number of families in each class.

spent for food; $154, or 13.9 percent, for clothing; $66, or 6.0 percent, for furnishings and portable equipment; $123, or 11.1 percent, for household operation; $36, or 3.2 percent, for maintenance of health; $114, or 10.3 percent, for advancement; $92, or 8.3 percent, for personal care; and $25, or 2.2 percent for special items.

Food constituted the outstanding element in the consumption patterns at every level of income classes. At the income class, less than $1,000,[14]

[14] In order to eliminate chance-errors resulting from the limited number of cases, three broad income classes were used in the final analysis of the consumption patterns. These income classes were as follows: "less than $1,000," "$1,000 to 1,499," and $1,500 and over."

income class, $1,500 and over, within which 26 families were found, the actual amount of money spent on food was $626, or 40.4 percent, of the total values of consumption. Inclusive of the plantation perquisites, the percentage expenditure on food was 35.8 percent of the total consumption.

For all income classes the amount of money spent on clothing came next to food in the order of importance. At the lowest income level, the average cash spent on clothing was $103, or 12.3 percent, of the total consumption; at the middle income level it was $150, or 13.6 percent; and at

Consumption patterns by minor income classes have been computed, but are omitted in this paper.

the highest income level the cost per family was $242, or 15.6 percent of the total consumption. For the lowest income level, household operation absorbed roughly $92, or 11.0 percent of the total consumption; for the income level, $1,000–1499, the household operation expenditure was $117, or 10.5 percent; and for the highest income level, it was $180, or 11.6 percent of the total. Trailing closely behind household-operation expenditure was the average amount of cash spent on advancement: the lowest income class spent $73, or 8.7 percent; the middle income class, $117 or 10.5 percent; and the highest income class, $177 or 11.4 percent of the total consumption. Personal care was the fourth in the order of importance. The average amount spent on this item was: for the lowest income group, $71, or 8.5 percent; for the middle income group, $95 or 8.6 percent; and for the highest income group, $123 or 7.9 percent of the total consumption. Both maintenance of health and "other items" were comparatively small for all income classes.

Some of the important changes in the percentage distribution of total consumption as income in-creased were noted for food, clothing, furnishings and portable equipment, and advancement. In the case of food the change was negative, while in the other three categories of consumption changes were positive. Percentage changes in the consumption of other goods and services, as income rose, were small. In these percentage variations in the patterns of consumption are revealed the effects of plantation life on the scheme of living of these people.

A further discussion of a set of sociological and social psychological forces at work to bring about and sustain the new scheme of living will appear in a separate essay. It suffices to say at this point that the customary ways of life of the first generation Japanese persisted far more effectively within a closely knit communal life on the plantation than in the city of Honolulu. The study of income, sources of income, deficit and surplus, and the patterns of consumption clearly showed this fact. And yet, the forces inherent in the traditional Japanese family system have been weakening as the acculturation of the second generation has been more and more evident.

THE USE OF SELECTED CARTOGRAPHIC TECHNIQUES IN HEALTH RESEARCH*

HOMER L. HITT

Louisiana State University

For almost two decades graphic techniques have played a prominent role in the research activities of the Department of Rural Sociology at Louisiana State University. Their application both in presenting and analyzing data has assumed a great variety of forms. In the main, conventional cartographic devices have been employed. Frequently, however, these usual procedures have been modified, combined, and refined to increase their effectiveness for specific purposes. And at least one technique has been devised which represents a fundamental contribution to the field of cartographic representation. The result has been the accumulation of several helpful procedures which are not now generally used in social research.

* Read before the tenth annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society, Knoxville, Tennessee, April 11, 1947.

These techniques, as is true of all methods, are not limited in their application to a particular field of research. They may be used with equal success in the study of a wide range of subjects. However, this paper points up their relevance for health research. It attempts to show how these selected graphic procedures may be employed advantageously in the investigation of the social aspects of health. Attention is primarily directed at the considerations bearing on their use in particular situations and at the technical aspects of their application.

THE MODIFIED STATISTICAL MAP

Most researchers are intimately familiar with the so-called statistical map. Its purpose is to depict the geographical distribution of quantitative characteristics. In using this device, the values of the quantitative variable under consideration for

the given geographical divisions are grouped according to magnitude into a sequence of classes. To represent each class, a particular design of cross hatching is selected. Then, each geographical division of the map is shaded with the appropriate cross hatching. So constructed, the statistical map is a useful tool. At present it is abundantly utilized in health research to show the variations in space of such fundamental indexes as fertility ratios, birth rates, death rates, morbidity rates, population-hospital bed ratios, and population-physician ratios.

Despite the plainness and popularity of the simple statistical map, its full potentialities are frequently not realized. One common defect in its use is the improper selection of the series of shadings to correspond to the sequence of class intervals. Care should be taken to insure that the patterns of cross hatching range gradually from a relatively light to a relatively dark shade leaving no uncertainity as to the rank of any single pattern on the continuum. It is not enough to have different designs; the density or degree of darkness of each shade should be distinct, and its position on the scale apparent at a glance.[1] Then, to help eliminate the possibility of confusion, the series of patterns should invariably be matched with the class intervals of the frequency table so that the lightest shade represents the smallest numerical value; the darkest shade, the largest value. Otherwise the true geographical variation of the factor under analysis will not be conveyed in a lucid and clear-cut manner. The difficulties caused by the lack of such a procedure will be evident upon an inspection of the maps in many reputable research reports—including some of those published by the Bureau of the Census.

One other practice that enhances the value of the statistical map is the arrangement of the class intervals in such a way that one of the breaks coincides with the average for the whole mass of

[1] This necessity for the immediate recognition of the exact position of each pattern in the series makes the use of more than one color for shading inadvisable. Despite the fact that the seven principal colors may be arranged for this purpose in accordance with their location on the spectrum, it is doubtful whether this procedure should be recommended. The average reader probably would have difficulty in correctly identifying the position of each on the scale. Moreover, the expense of reproducing multi-colored maps for publication is ordinarily prohibitive.

data under consideration.[2] This enables one to determine at a casual glance which areas are below and which are above the average. This helpful feature, of course, in no way interferes with the observance of the generally approved rules for the selection of class intervals and formulation of the frequency table.

For the purpose of providing a concrete example of the application of the simple statistical map, assume it has been selected as an analytical tool for the study of the incidence of births at which there was no physician in attendance. Following the general procedure outlined above, Figure 1 was prepared. It shows the proportions of live births occurring without medical attention in the parishes of Louisiana in 1945. An inspection of this map readily reveals the areas having high percentages and those having low percentages of unattended births and, as such, contributes to an understanding of the phenomenon being studied.

However, in the statistical map, the surface areas rather than the human elements of the geographical divisions are emphasized. As a result, this graphic device is likely to convey erroneous and distorted conceptions of the relative importance to the whole of conditions prevailing in particular areas. In the main, the characteristics peculiar to the larger areas, even though they are generally sparsely populated, are inevitably exaggerated in the mind of the observer, while those characterizing the smaller areas, which as a rule are densely populated, are minimized. Thus, more often than not, the comprehension of the actual over-all situation would be facilitated by the opposing emphasis to that given. On maps of the United States the situation prevailing among a few thousand people in Nevada or Wyoming will catch the eye to a far greater extent than that characteristic of the millions of persons residing in Massachusetts, New Jersey, or Connecticut.

As a case in point, note that in Figure 1, the shading in Orleans Parish with over half a million inhabitants and more than 11,500 live births shows up less prominently than that in Cameron Parish with less than 10,000 residents and fewer than 100 births. Numerous similar examples could be cited. Any assumption that the average reader or even the trained analyst can automati-

[2] This procedure first used in the preparation of cartographic illustrations for T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1940) For example see Figure 29 on page 157.

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cally and invariably make proper allowance for the figures on which such indexes or percentages are based seems unduly optimistic.

It is possible through modification to eliminate the "surface area" bias without sacrificing the obvious advantage of presenting quantitative data within the geographical framework of a map.

Moreover, since the areas of the circles are drawn in proportion to a variable having a direct bearing on the analysis, the revision is doubly significant. Not only does this procedure eliminate the fundamental weakness of the simple statistical map, but it actually opens the way for the joint or simultaneous consideration of two pertinent factors
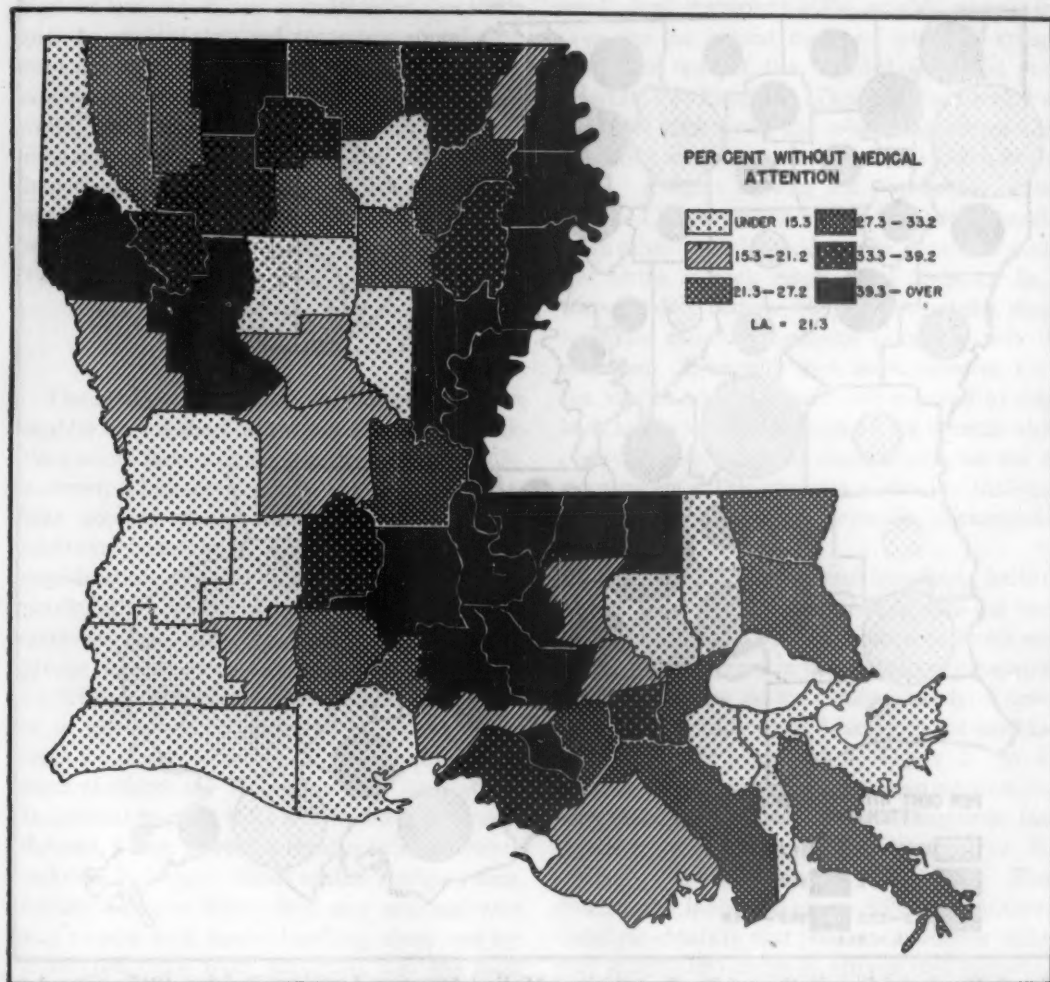

Fig. 1. Per Cent of Live Births Without Medical Attention, Louisiana Parishes, 1945. (Based on data in *Quarterly Bulletin*, State of Louisiana, Department of Health, Vol. XXXVI, Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4, 1945.)

One effective method for accomplishing this is to use the area diagram in combination with the statistical map. In its simplest application, the area diagram involves the representation of quantitative values by the areas of geometric figures such as rectangles or circles. It follows that area diagrams, preferably circles, may satisfactorily supplant the surface areas of geographical divisions as the units for shading on the modified map.

rather than one. Thus, inasmuch as this modified statistical map in effect serves the purpose of two maps, its use is economical in time, space, and materials.

Another version of the statistical map designed to eliminate the surface area bias is prepared by the actual redrawing of boundaries in such a way that the areas of the geographical divisions themselves are proportionate to some factor closely

related to the analysis.[3] This approach is fraught with two serious difficulties. On the one hand, the complete reconstruction of every geographical division, most of which are very irregularly shaped, in terms of a given surface area is complicated and laborious. On the other, the end product of these

the units for shading seems unquestionably to be the superior tool.

This graphic device is an invaluable asset to the study of the geographical distribution of most measurements of the various aspects of health. It offers, for example, the advantage of analyzing

NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS

— 12,000
— 5,000
— 2,500
— 1,000
— 250

PER CENT WITHOUT MEDICAL ATTENTION

UNDER 15.3
15.3 – 21.2
21.3 – 27.2
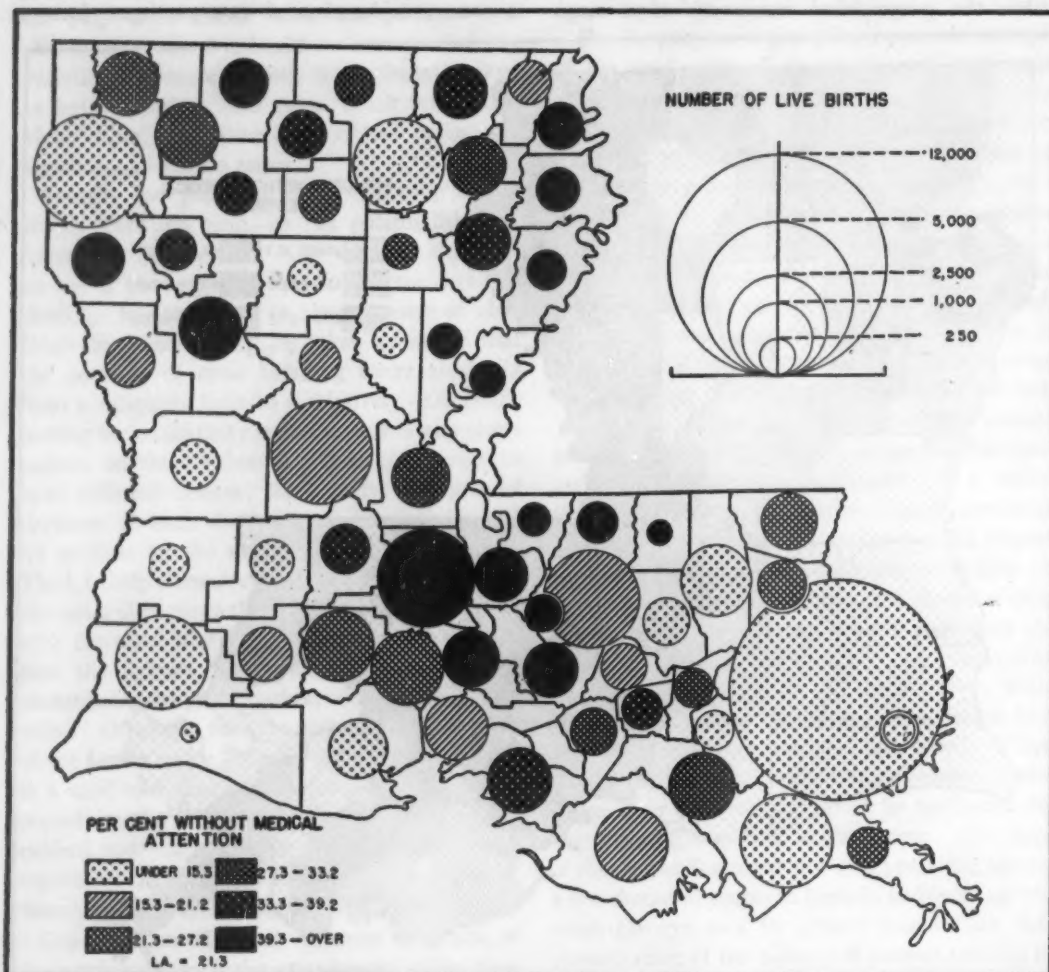27.3 – 33.2
33.3 – 39.2
39.3 – OVER
LA. = 21.3

FIG. 2. Number of Live Births and Per Cent Without Medical Attention, Louisiana Parishes, 1945. (Based on data in *Quarterly Bulletin*, State of Louisiana, Department of Health, Vol. XXXVI, Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4, 1945.)

efforts which is to serve as a framework so slightly resembles the original or true map that it has little geographical meaning to the ordinary observer. The statistical map modified by the substitution of circles for geographical divisions as

in conjunction spatial variations in such pairs of factors as the birth rate and the number of births, persons per physician and the population, the percentage of aged persons and the total number of aged persons, and the infant mortality rate and the number of live births. The situation in which such two-factor graphic representations prove beneficial are the rule rather than the exception in health research.

The practical application of this modified statistical map is illustrated by Figure 2. Like

[3] For an example of this type of map see *State Planning*, National Resources Board (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1935), p. 72. In this instance, the areas of the counties of Ohio are drawn in proportion to population.

Figure 1, it shows the percentage of live births occurring without medical attention in the parishes of Louisiana in 1945. But since the shading in each parish is confined to the circle whose area is proportionate to the number of live births on which the percentage is based, opportunity for additional insight is provided. The importance of extremely high or low proportions of unattended live births may be expeditiously and accurately appraised in terms of the total number of live births without distraction from the irrelevant surface areas. Note, for example, the radically different impressions gained in Figure 2 of the relative importance of the percentage of live births without medical attention in Cameron as compared with the corresponding proportion in Orleans Parish.

THREE FACTOR ANALYSIS AND GRAPHIC REPRESENTATION

The modified statistical map described above enables one to chart effectively the spatial variations of two factors on the same map. Frequently, however, it becomes desirable or even necessary to take account of the influence of one or more additional factors on the variable receiving primary consideration. In this connection, the researcher, particularly in the South, is perhaps most commonly faced with the need for ascertaining the precise role of race in geographical differences. Until this is done, the question remains unanswered as to whether or not observed variations among areas are merely reflections of the differing importance of whites and Negroes in their populations. In a similar manner, it often is feasible to determine the part, if any, played by rural or urban residence make-up in bringing about spatial configurations. Although factors other than race and residence may require such special handling, these two are undoubtedly the most important and the most frequently encountered.

As a solution to the basic problem of relating race or residence to the geographical distribution of a variable, the researcher ordinarily resorts to the multiplication of simple statistical maps. If the occasion demands, for example, some clarification of the influence of race on the spatial pattern of unattended births, the usual procedure is to prepare one map similar to Figure 1 for each racial group. For the purpose of eliminating the effect of residence, the corresponding procedure of making individual maps for the residential categories

is followed. Such series of maps are substantial aids to the analysis, particularly if those for each factor are strictly comparable in every respect. However, inhe. nt in all of them are the limitations of the simple statistical map which have already been indicated.

A somewhat improved basis for analysis would result from constructing the graphic representations for the several race and residence groups along the lines of the modified statistical map illustrated in Figure 2. This procedure would at the same time avoid the misleading surface-area bias and include another meaningful factor on the maps. A figure showing the distribution of unattended births among whites, for example, might to an advantage also indicate the number of white live births in each geographical division. In a corresponding manner, the value of similar maps for other race and residence categories may be enhanced. Even with such maps, however, both the analyst and the reader are required to refer back and forth between maps, trying to recall while observing one the exact configuration on one or more others. This presents a sizeable challenge even to a person with the proverbial photographic mind.

The necessity for the multiple-chart, indirect approach to three-factor graphic analysis has been obviated by an innovation hit upon by Smith and Beegle while engaged in the analysis of population data.[4] This new device consists merely of using position to identify a third factor on the modified statistical map illustrated in Figure 2. In its application, the circles are cut, starting from the same point and following the same sequence, into segments representing either the racial or the residential components of the whole. Thus divided, the individual circles differ from conventional pie-charts in that position or location rather than shading reveals the identity of their segments. The shading is used for the primary purpose of indicating how the groups represented by the segments stand with respect to the factor under analysis.

[4] Maps employing this technique were published first in, T. Lynn Smith and Louise Kemp, "Rural-Urban Differences in the Educational Status of Louisiana's White Population," *Louisiana Rural Economist*, VIII, No. 2 (May, 1946), pp. 4–6; and J. Allan Beegle and T. Lynn Smith, *Differential Fertility in Louisiana*, Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin No. 403 (Baton Rouge, June, 1946).

The analysis and presentation of health data are greatly facilitated by this ingenious technique which makes possible the adept handling of three factors on the same chart. Through its use, one may on a single chart show, for example, the geographical distribution of the absolute number of

by such a vast yet simple and systematic aggregation of data is obvious. Rural-urban residence may be used in the same manner as race as the basis for classification. In the study of several of the common health indexes such as the birth rate, the incidence of still births, the several mor-
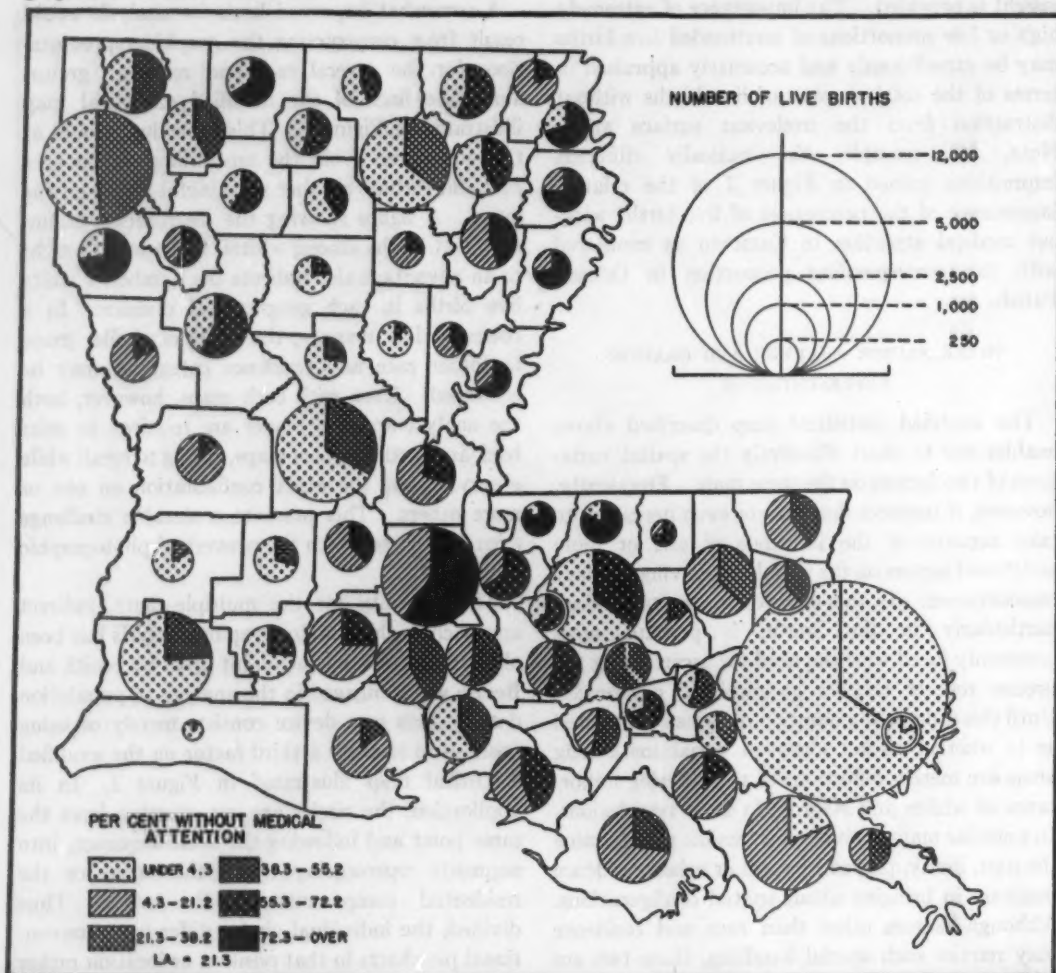

FIG. 3. Number of Live Births and Per Cent Without Medical Attention Classified by Race, Louisiana Parishes 1945. (Starting at 12 o'clock on the circle and reading clockwise the segments represent the non-white and white births, respectively. Based on data in *Quarterly Bulletin*, State of Louisiana, Department of Health, Vol. XXXVI, Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4, 1945.)

live births (the size of the circle), the absolute and relative importance of whites and nonwhites in the total (the segments of the circle), and variations in infant mortality rates of each of the races (the shadings of the segments). At least five separate maps of the conventional one-factor type would be required to present the same information. The wide range of analytical possibilities offered

tality rates, and the admission rates to hospitals, this three-factor graphic analysis may be utilized with fruitful results.

Once again the material on the incidence of unattended births in Louisiana is used for illustrative purposes. Figure 3 presents the percentage of live births without medical attention, classified by race, for the 64 parishes of the state

in 1945. Although the straight-forward procedure employed in its preparation is apparent from the map itself, it may be in order to indicate briefly the main steps taken. First, as in Figure 2, in each parish a circle was drawn proportionate in area to the total number of live births occurring in the parish. Then starting at 12:00 o'clock on the circles and moving in a clockwise direction, they were divided into segments representing nonwhite and white births, respectively. Finally, the segments were appropriately shaded to indicate the percentage of the live births occurring without medical attention.

The analytical opportunities afforded by Figure 3 are many and varied. Immediately apparent are the contributions of the various parishes to the state's 1945 crop of live births. Also easily grasped are the proportions of births in each parish that are white and nonwhite. But it is in the analysis of the influence of race on the percentage of live births without medical attention that this approach is most helpful. Not only does it make possible the appraisal of the incidence of unattended births in terms of the first two variables already mentioned but it also enables one, with respect to this primary factor, to compare the racial groups within a given geographical division, the geographical divisions for a given racial group, and the two races in different geographical divisions. A careful inspection of the one map, then, divulges whether or not a racial differential exists; if so, the nature of its spatial distribution; and finally, the presence, if any, of geographical differences independent of racial composition.

FOUR FACTOR ANALYSIS AND GRAPHIC REPRESENTATION

In pursuing such analyses to their logical extremes, it sometimes is both possible and desirable to consider simultaneously four factors instead of three. This situation most commonly arises in connection with the study of a phenomenon thought to be influenced by both the racial and the residential makeup of the populations of the given geographical divisions. Usually to cope with this exigency, the most feasible procedure is to prepare either for each residence category a three-factor map which incorporates the basic racial breakdown or for each racial group one which makes the fundamental residential distinction. The former approach is preferable when the racial comparison is paramount to the analysis and the latter when the residential comparison is considered the more important. Regardless of the alternative followed, the individual maps of a series should be comparable in every respect.

Under special circumstances, however, it is possible to handle successfully on the same map a three-factor analysis making the racial breakdown for more than one residence category. For example, when cities of certain sizes are to be considered apart, they sometimes may be treated separately on the same map as the balance of the population. This procedure has particularly great practical value in the graphic manipulation of the routine data published by the Division of Vital Statistics. It is the practice of this agency to divide the data for counties on a residential basis into only two categories: cities having 10,000 or more inhabitants and the rest of the population. When only a few such urban centers are present, and especially when the outline map of the total area is such that unused space is available, the graphic presentation of the data for the cities along with those for the balance of the population has distinct and obvious advantages. It is true, of course, that in so doing one loses geographical perspective as far as the cities are concerned, but their specific locations are fairly generally known.

This procedure is illustrated in Figure 4. It shows the percentage of live births without medical attention, classified by race, in Louisiana in 1945. However, from the residential standpoint, the data for the 10 cities of the state having 10,000 or more inhabitants are shown separately and are not included in the parish totals represented on the map. Except for the segregated handling of these cities, Figure 4 is identical to Figure 3 and should be so interpreted. The advantage from the analytical standpoint of having comparable data for the cities side by side on the same map with those for the more rural areas is undeniable.

In conclusion, it perhaps should be stated that the services of a professional draftsman are not essential to the application of these various graphic procedures. Their use entails merely the skilled manipulation of pen, straightedge, razor blade, compass and letter-guide, a feat which the average research assistant, statistical clerk, or stenographer masters in a short time. The shading operation, once the most tedious and painstaking in the whole process, now involves simply the cutting of re-
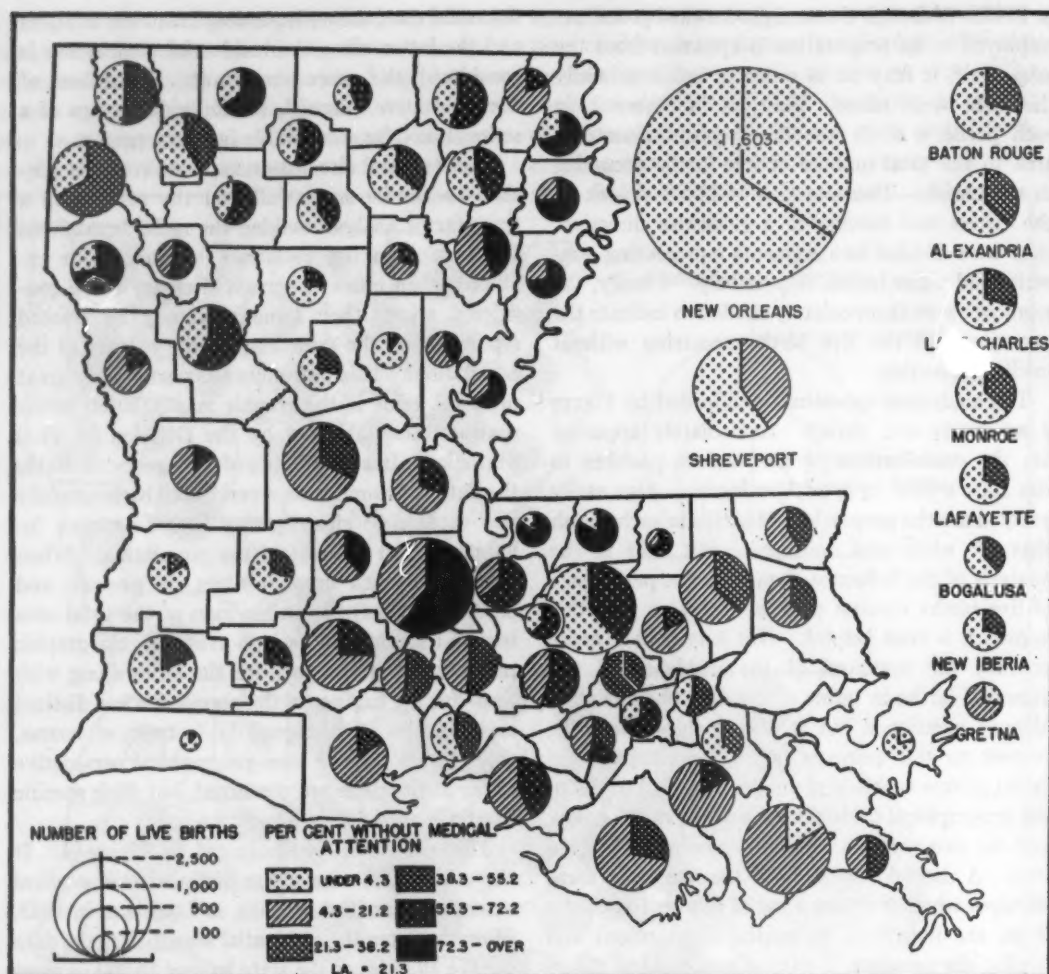
FIG. 4. Number of Live Births and Per Cent Without Medical Attention Classified by Race and Residence, Louisiana Parishes, 1945. (From a residential standpoint, data for cities of 10,000 or more inhabitants are shown separately and are not included in the parish totals represented on the map. Starting at 12 o'clock on the circle and reading clockwise the segments represent the non-white and white births, respectively. Based on data in *Quarterly Bulletin*, State of Louisiana, Department of Health, Vol. XXXVI, Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4, 1945.)

quired shapes from commercially-prepared patterns of cross hatching. In view of the limited budgets of most research organizations, the ease and simplicity of application rank as advantages of these techniques along with their analytical and descriptive superiority.

CONFERENCE ON METHODS IN PHILOSOPHY AND THE SCIENCES

The semi-annual meeting of the Conference on Methods in Philosophy and the Sciences was held at the New School for Social Research on December 7, 1947. The program was divided into two sessions. The morning session featured two papers on The Theory and Practice of History followed by prepared and general discussion, while the afternoon session was devoted to four papers and discussion of the topic, American Public Policy on Science.

COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress, in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE PROTESTANT CHURCH AND THE NEGRO: RECENT PRONOUNCEMENTS

FRANK S. LOESCHER

American Friends Service Committee

Denominational pronouncements, it has been said,

... may be more or less remote from the thought of the church members, not to mention their practice.

At the same time some of the statements ... represent much serious thought and careful consideration on the part of the bodies responsible for them. Others have less intrinsic authority or significance but are noteworthy because they have at least the weight of official declarations and may be used in educational work among the congregations originating them.[1]

Aside from perennial questions as to their effectiveness, denominational pronouncements do provide an indication of how the churches encompass the race problem—more particularly how the churches approach the "Negro problem."[2]

Before examining contemporary statements, it may be helpful to trace the changing attitudes of the churches.

BEFORE THE DEPRESSION

The seventeen bodies included in this study adopted between 1908 and 1929 only six resolutions on race relations.[3] All six dealt with the gross

aspects of the treatment of Negroes and then in the most general terms. Except for a Congregational reference to discrimination, mob violence was usually the chief concern of the statements. Not untypical was the statement from the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1919 and 1922.

Mob violence in every form is wrong; it is a clearly defined and imperative Christian duty to sustain the civil authorities in the righteous exercise of their powers in seeing that even-handed justice is unfailingly administered according to due and lawful processes.[4]

DURING THE DEPRESSION

Twenty-seven different statements on race relations with sixty endorsements by denominations studied are members of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America: The Methodist Church (8,046,129), Protestant Episcopal Church (2,227,524), Presbyterian Church in the USA (2,040,399), United Lutheran Church (consultative—1,690,204), Disciples of Christ (1,672,354), Northern Baptist Convention (1,555,914), Congregational Christian Churches (1,075,401), Evangelical and Reformed Church (675,958), Presbyterian Church in the US (565,853), United Brethren in Christ (433,480), Evangelical Church (255,881), United Presbyterian Church (193,637), Church of the Brethren (180,287), Reformed Church in America (169,390), Religious Society of Friends (Five Years Meeting—70,000). In addition, the Southern Baptist Convention (5,677,926), and the Friends General Conference (17,870) which are not members of the Federal Council of Churches, were included in this study. (Numbers in parentheses are the 1943 inclusive memberships.)

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[1] F. Ernest Johnson (ed.), *The Social Work of the Churches* (New York: Department of Research and Education of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 1930), p. 122.

[2] For the complete study of racial policies and practices of Protestant congregations and educational institutions see Frank S. Loescher, "The Protestant Church and the Negro". Microfilmed Ph.D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1946, to be published in 1948 by Association Press.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 154–155. Fifteen of the denominations

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 155.

now members of the Federal Council of Churches were adopted during the thirties.[5] The pronouncements are still quite general, the majority focusing on the most obvious evil—lynching—with scarcely a word on the more controversial and more basic issue of economic discrimination. Discrimination is rarely mentioned and the same is true of segregation.

Summarizing, there were eight denominations protesting in some fashion against lynching, five bodies endorsing bills before Congress.[6] Seven bodies said, "All races should enjoy the same protection and rights" and four recommended "mutual good-will and cooperation among racial groups."[7]

There was a scattering of interest in more controversial questions. Two bodies proclaimed their opposition to all forced segregation,[8] two called for justice for all in the Scottsboro case,[9] but the prevailing point of view was to deal in generalities.

With the exception of the three denominations which took a stand against discrimination at their national meetings (Northern Baptist, Congregational Christian, and Disciples of Christ), the churches' own practices received little attention. There was a request by one body for a simultaneous convention with its Negro churches and a recommendation that Negroes be offered equal opportunity for ministerial training.[10] A denomination with an infinitesimal number of colored American members favored "inviting members of different races within our Church constituency to summer schools, camps, and local church meeting."[11]

WORLD WAR II

During the first five years of the present decade there has been no decline in denominational interest in race relations. On the contrary, the wave of pronouncements of the thirties appears to have

become in the forties something of a flood. Even denominations which during the thirties had not made a single statement on race are now displaying an awareness of race tensions. The number of pronouncements for this period approached the amazing figure of one hundred.[12]

Several matters are noteworthy as one considers the recent deliverances. For the first time economic discrimination is recognized in a forthright and specific manner: four denominations endorsed the principles embodied in the work of the Fair Employment Practices Committee, three of these favoring congressional action to set up a permanent F.E.P.C.[13] On the poll tax issue, while no bill before Congress was endorsed, three bodies urged its abolition.[14] Otherwise, the pronouncements appear to avoid the specific. However, on such important problems as housing, education, transportation, as well as employment and civil rights there is a growing awareness of discrimination against Negroes.

Resolutions have been offered on a wide variety of topics: one body deplored the segregation of blood plasma; two churches called for a postwar settlement based on the principle of equality of races; two denominations hammered away at lynching.[15] There was only one body to "oppose any discrimination against the Negro in the military services" or to commend "the War and Navy departments upon the steps they have taken toward removing discrimination and segregation of

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[5] *Social Pronouncements, 1930-1939* (Chicago: The International Council of Religious Education, n.d.), pp. 15–17.

[6] At eight conventions during the thirties, the Southern Baptists condemned mob violence or lynching. Until 1939 when they mentioned inequalities in the public schools, courts, wages, and employment opportunities, they took note of no other issue.

[7] *Social Pronouncements*, p. 15.

[8] Northern Baptists and Congregational Christians.

[9] Congregational Christians and Northern Presbyterians.

[10] Disciples of Christ.

[11] Evangelical and Reformed. See *Social Pronouncements*, p. 15.

[12] The 1940-1944 social pronouncements of all denominations have not yet been brought together in printed form.

[13] Congregational Christian, Evangelical and Reformed, Presbyterian U. S. A., Methodist. (The Methodist General Conference endorsed the principles only.)

[14] Congregational Christian, Evangelical and Reformed, Presbyterian U. S. A.

[15] The resolutions of the Southern Baptists during the first five years of the forties, while still focusing on mob violence, touched on such matters as more equitable economic and educational opportunities (1940 and 1941). In 1943 the report to the convention praised the "constructive Negro leadership at Durham, N.C., October, 1942," and also the southern white leaders of the Atlanta Conference, April, 1943, who had admitted that "the Negro as an American citizen is entitled to his civil rights and economic opportunities." The report frankly stated, "What we seek is a *modus operandi* that will diminish friction, eliminate injustices, and promote friendly cooperation." *Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1943*, p. 107.

Negroes in the Armed Forces. . . "[16] The whole system of segregation was even condemned by two communions as undemocratic and unchristian.[17]

The outstanding characteristic of the pronouncements in the nineteen forties is the trend toward self-examination. Almost one-third of the hundred statements are focused on the church and its membership. Not atypical are these few selected items:

Through the General Conferences, Annual Conferences, and similar church meetings, the Church should make its corporate influence felt against the collective evils of racism . . . .[18]

The minister and lay leader should seek to encourage within the official leadership of the local church a Christian attitude toward such community situations as involve the promotion of racial understanding and good will.[19]

Our ministers and laymen are urged to take the initiative in setting up inter-racial groups . . . .[20]

Two more denominations adopted resolutions concerning their national meetings, the Episcopalians resolving that the accommodations committee "strive to make arrangements that will allow the colored delegates and visitors to be accorded the same treatment as the white delegates"[21] and the Methodists recommending that "Committees arranging for general meetings of the Church locate such meetings only in places where adequate and suitable entertainment can be provided for all delegates and representatives of the Church."[22]

There has also been appointed by the Methodist Church, looking to the "ultimate elimination of racial discrimination," a study commission "to

[16] *The Church and Race*—Pronouncements of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. 1928–1944 (Mimeographed; Philadelphia: Department of Social Education and Action), pp. 3, 4.

[17] Evangelical and Reformed, Presbyterians, U. S. A.

[18] *Daily Christian Advocate* (Kansas City, Mo.: The Methodist Publishing House), Vol. II, No. 7 (May 3, 1944), p. 108.

[19] *Idem.*

[20] *Acts and Proceedings of the Sixth Meeting of the General Synod of the Evangelical and Reformed Church,* 1944 (St. Louis: Eden Publishing House), p. 265.

[21] *Journal of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, 1940,* p. 343.

[22] *Proceedings, 41st General Conference of the Methodist Church.* 1944, p. 168.

consider afresh the relations of all races included in the membership. . . "[23]

Most noteworthy are the pronouncements of the Northern Baptist, Evangelical and Reformed, Presbyterian U. S. A., and Episcopal Churches, in an action seemingly without precedent, focusing on segregation in the churches themselves—typified by these four principles adopted by the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1943:

WHEREAS, the following principles must be kept before us as the Christian goal, to wit:

Fellowship is essential to Christian worship;

Fellowship is essential in Church administration;

High standards must be maintained in every department of our work with the Negro; and

It is both the function and the task of the Church to set the spiritual and moral goals for society, and to bear witness to their validity by achieving them in her own life; Therefore Be It

RESOLVED, That this Convention commends the foregoing principles of Christian Social Relations to the clergy and laity of this Church as embodying a Christian approach to the New World Order.[24]

SINCE THE WAR

Race relations has maintained a central place in Protestant pronouncement. With the ending of the war new domestic issues arose at denominational conventions—industrial relations, problems of church and state, amnesty for conscientious objectors, housing, compulsory military training; on the international scene there were resolutions on displaced persons, relief and reconstruction, UNESCO, and other organizations of the United Nations. But intergroup relations continued a major concern.

In 1946 and 1947 resolutions were adopted which constitute a landmark in Protestant pronouncement on Negro-white relationships. The Federal Council of Churches at a special meeting in March of 1946 declared:

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America hereby renounces the pattern of segregation in race relations as unnecessary and undesirable and a violation of the Gospel of love and human brotherhood. Having taken this action, the Federal Council requests its constituent communions to do likewise. As proof of

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 170.

[24] *Social Action at General Convention, Cleveland, 1943* (New York: The National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church), pp. 5–6.

their sincerity in this renunciation they will work for a non-segregated Church and a non-segregated society.[25]

And the following denominations have adopted the statement as their own: Congregational Christian (1946), Disciples of Christ (1946), Evangelical and Reformed (1947), and Presbyterian U. S. A. (1946 and 1947). It is difficult to imagine anything more that many denominations can do in the field of pronouncement on the fundamental issue of segregation in the church.

To implement these resolutions several denominations are planning rather intensive programs. Most outstanding in this regard is the action of the Congregational Christian Churches to make race relations a major concern for the 1946–48 biennium.[26]

The Evangelical and Reformed Church will make 1948–49 a period of special church-wide emphasis. The Northern Presbyterians (1946) have authorized a study of how the denomination can achieve a non-segregated church. The Episcopalians (1946) requested the appointment of a

Bi-racial committee . . . for the purpose of developing plans to stimulate increased participation of Negro laymen in the established program of the Church, and . . . report its findings and recommendations to the Presiding Bishop and the National Council for appropriate action.[27]

The United Presbyterians (1947) have called for no discrimination in any meetings of the denomination and want the Synods to eliminate all vestiges of segregation in the Presbyteries.

The racial practices of denominational institutions have also been singled out. The Evangelical and Reformed Church (1947) is interested in its colleges and hospitals; the Congregationalists (1946), their church-related colleges and schools; the Presbyterians U. S. A. (1946), their seminaries and colleges; the Brethren (1947) and United Presbyterians (1947), their colleges. The United Presbyterians have asked the church boards to establish scholarships at their colleges and youth conferences for minorities.

[25] "The Church and Race Relations," (New York: Federal Council of Churches), p. 5.
[26] *Minutes, Eighth Regular Meeting, General Council of the Congregational Christian Churches of the United States* (New York: 1946), p. 47.
[27] *Christian Social Relations* at General Convention, 1946 (New York: The National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church), p. 5.

Fair employment practices legislation now has wide support in denominational pronouncement. The Northern Baptists (1946, 1947) endorse state legislation and want serious consideration given to federal legislation. The Presbyterians U. S. A. (1945) approve the New York State act and endorse a federal F.E.P.C. (1945, 1947). The Reformed Church in America (1945) commends the New York and New Jersey antidiscriminatory laws for fair employment. The Congregationallists (1946), Evangelical (1945), and Evangelical and Reformed (1947) favor a federal FEPC.

Residential segregation, especially by means of restrictive covenants, has been denounced by the Northern Baptists (1946), Congregationalists (1946), Evangelical and Reformed (1947), and the United Presbyterians (1947).

In the denominations with a predominantly southern constituency there is a trend toward the specific in pronouncements. The Southern Presbyterians (1947) stress civil rights and condemn anti-minority groups. They also (1945) urge their churches to establish interracial committees in their communities and to promote opportunities for joint worship. However, in 1946, the Southern Presbyterians adopted a resolution calling for a study to be made of the possibility of uniting all Negro Presbyterians in a Negro Presbyterian Church. This proposal appears to have been "shelved" at the 1947 General Assembly.

On the time-worn "separate but equal" assumptions, the Southern Baptists in 1945, 1946, and 1947 adopted a series of resolutions favoring equal opportunity within the system of segregation. A committee appointed in 1946 reported to the 1947 convention:

The problem as we face it in our time is that of different races finding principles and methods of procedure that will insure justice to all and establish attitudes of mutual helpfulness and good-will.[28]

In a detailed report the committee reviewed the "work now being done by Southern Baptists among the Negroes of the South," described the "whole racial situation in its moral and religious aspects" with special reference to the responsibility of Baptists, and suggested a "character of . . . Christian and Baptist principles and their necessary consequences in racial attitudes.[29]

[28] *Book of Reports, Southern Baptist Convention* (Nashville, Tenn.: Marshall & Bruce Company, 1947), p. 282.
[29] *Book of Reports, op. cit.*, pp. 280–284.

BLIND SPOTS

Another phase of the denominational pronouncements remains to be treated. Having noted the aspects of the "Negro problem" over which some churches have expressed their concern, we can legitimately ask, what aspects have been overlooked?

Using the resolutions adopted by the annual conventions of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as embodying the principal demands of American Negroes, one notes many areas which Protestantism in its pronouncements has either treated evasively or ignored entirely. A few selected N.A.A.C.P. resolutions are cited as illustrations:

1935: Discrimination in relief and work relief.
1936: Inclusion of agricultural and domestic workers under the Social Security Act, Discrimination in the Army and Navy. Discrimination and segregation in health and medical services
1937: Segregation in low-cost housing. Stereotyping of Negroes by press, radio and movies.
1938: Discrimination and segregation in parks, pools, educational centers, nursery schools.
1939: Discrimination and segregation by the Federal Housing Administration.[20]

There is one other problem which has been on the "must" list of the N.A.A.C.P. since 1937—restrictive covenants. A restrictive covenant is "an agreement by property owners in a neighborhood not to sell or rent their property to colored people for a definite period."[21] These agreements help to keep Negroes ". . . isolated from the main body of whites, and mutual ignorance helps reinforce segregative attitudes and other forms of race prejudice."[22] Myrdal believes, furthermore, that if the small upper and middle class Negroes lived in white neighborhoods, ". . . they might serve to better race relations" and ". . . would contribute

to property values in a neighborhood rather than cause them to deteriorate. The socially more serious effect of having segregation, however, is not to force this tiny group of middle and upper class Negroes to live among their own group, but to lay the Negro masses open to exploitation and to drive down their housing standard even below what otherwise would be economically possible."[23]

Now it is significant that until 1946 not a single Protestant denomination had ever made a pronouncement on the subject of restrictive covenants. If the four denominations can really implement their denunciation of such practices, they will make a notable accomplishment since a great deal of the property where white Protestants live, especially in suburban areas, is so restricted. It is also believed that the denominations and especially their related institutions, such as colleges, own property or have endowments invested in property subject to covenants restricting the sale or lease to whites only.[24] More vital is the relationship between restrictive covenants and the attendance and membership of Negroes in white congregations, which is so obvious that it hardly seems an exaggeration to say that until the churches are successful in abolishing restrictive covenants, their statements on fellowship in the church can hardly be realized.

The denominations have other blind spots. Only the Congregationalists have singled out the practice of their secondary schools. Only the Evangelical and Reformed Church has mentioned the policies and practices of their church-related hospitals. No denomination has ever mentioned such other church institutions as orphanages, homes for the aged, and settlement houses.

No denomination has called on those among its constituency who are in policy-making positions in business and industry to open to Negroes positions from which they usually are barred, such as clerks, salespersons, bookkeepers, stenographers, and other "white collar" jobs.

Even with these "blind spots" the unbiased observer cannot fail to be impressed by the revolutionary changes in pronouncements since the beginning of World War II.

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[20] The complete texts of the resolutions adopted at the annual conventions are reported in *The Crisis*, Vol. 42, No. 8 (August, 1935), pp. 248–250; Vol. 43, No. 9 (September, 1936), pp. 277, 283; Vol. 44, No. 8 (August, 1937), pp. 246–248; Vol. 45, No. 9 (September, 1938), pp. 305–306; Vol. 46, No. 9 (September, 1939), pp. 280–282.
[21] Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, I, 624.
[22] *Ibid.*, I, 625.

[23] *Idem.*
[24] See Will W. Alexander, "Our Conflicting Racial Policies," *Harper's Magazine*, Vol. 190, No. 1136 (January, 1943), p. 176.

THE ACCULTURATION OF THE DELTA NEGRO

SAMUEL C. ADAMS JR.

Lincoln School

The impact of city ways is affecting the folk heritage of Negroes on the King and Anderson, a Delta plantation, and in this process the influence is felt unevenly by the folk culture. A basic explanation lies in the differential factors associated with acculturation; this is found in the extent of acculturation already achieved as well as by the prestige and reward values accompanying the addition of new cultural traits.

In an effort to test this assumption, one hundred Negro sharecropper families on the King and Anderson plantation were studied. The locale of the community as well as the region of the Mississippi Delta, though not completely isolated, is not urban but is, at present, reacting to modern civilization or the culture of the city.[1] Clarksdale, Mississippi, the trade and culture center of this plantation area is the seat of urban influence, and from this city the influence of the outside world comes to the people.

Church activity represents the institutional behavior of the Negro; while folk tales and folk songs, the spontaneous expressions. The data on the religious behavior were obtained from ministers, deacons, the churched and non-churched, and by participant observation. Data on folk tales and folk songs were obtained through informal listening and recording of songs and tales; by interviewing the older and younger generations of the community. Information on their past and present preferences in the kinds of music, tales, and stories constitute the basis for what is to follow.

I

Negro folk tales and folk songs were the literature of folk society. In the past the isolated world of the plantation gave an added significance to this type of expression. "Yes I can remember them old times," says one informant. "We just farmed, went to church, went visiting, stayed around home sitting by the fireside telling them old tales, and then that was just about all."

In this way of life custom was supreme, and hopes, fears, and frustrations expressed themselves in songs.

[1] Louis Wirth, "Urban Society and Civilization," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLV (March 1940), 744.

Oh the time is so hard
Oh the time is so hard
Oh mother the time is so hard
Oh Lordy the time is so hard
Oh I'm going away
Where the time ain't so hard

Sources of expressive behavior of the Negro were found in the immediate world of their religious and work life experience. The field hands moved back and forth, up and down rows of tall cotton stalks, and picked with nine foot cotton sacks on their shoulders. They sang loudly and jubilantly all along the way: "Children, I got heaven on my mind. And it keeps me singing all the time."

Moreover, in the early days of the Delta plantations the rampages of the Mississippi River occupied a great deal of the time and attention of the plantation Negro. "Them floods came, and they'd sing when the work was going on. About anything. Sometime one person be singing one thing and pass by somebody else, and if it fitted how the other fellow was feeling or thinking he would pick it up; just like he be walking along—quit talking and start singing."

This former world of experience no longer exists, and this means that the condition which once fostered the development and maintenance of the folk literature is less effective. This has come about as a result of the breakdown of isolation, increase in literacy, in the growing importance of the press and other printed matter; the awakening interest of the people toward the movies, the radio, the juke box, and general city ways. The present-day Negroes on the King and Anderson plantation are ceasing to be a folk people.[2]

The "gang singing" is rapidly disappearing. Cotton pickers say now "Ain't got no time for no singin'." Moreover, the influence of mechaniza-

[2] Specifically, the facts: 50 families have radios; 30 are subscribers to urban newspapers; 28 out of the 100 families reported that some members of the families go to Clarksdale at least once in every two weeks, while the remaining 72 families go three times a week; 30 families have automobiles; most all the plantation families frequented the movies, the juke joints, special city events, and expressed attitudes of the felt prestige of the civilization of the city. These are regarded as measures of the degree of participation in urban life.

tion is to make a man "not want to sing." A young informant emphatically states:

There ain't nothing about a tractor that makes a man want to sing. The thing keeps so much noise, and you so far away from the other folks. There ain't a thing to do but sit up there and drive.

Also, mechanization changes the content of songs:

Friend, I'm married unto Jesus
And we's never been apart
I've a telephone in my bosom
I can ring him up from my heart
I can get him on the air [radio]
Down on my knees in prayer

One of the consequences of the city life is the decline of the customary control on the one hand and the increase in the authority of the sheriff on the other hand. This secular authority is incorporated in a song.

When I was lying in Clarksdale jail
I seen a louse as long as a rail
Cut off his head nine feet from his tail
And still he was long as a ten foot rail
Hard times, po' boy
Hard times, po' boy

Old Capt. Quinn I most all forgot
He's the meanest old white man we had in the lot
For $5.00 he'd run you right well
For $25.00 he'd run you to hell
Hard times, po' boy
Hard times, po' boy

The tales which flourish today on the plantation are mainly the worldly stories. These stories have their place in the new scheme of living, peculiar to the younger generation. The fact that on the plantation the stories about Hitler and other international characters exist, shows clearly that the plantation is no longer an isolated world.

The spirituals can no longer be said to be the natural expression of the mind and the mood of these plantation Negroes of today, for the natural idiom of the Negro proletarian, the blues, is used to express the mood of the present. In the past the plantation Negro sang of "Pearly Gates and Golden Slippers," now the plantation Negro sings:

I'm just a po' cold nigger
Me and the white man and the boll weevil
All living off of cotton
The white man and the boll weevil

All getting fat
And here's po' me
I ain't got a dime
I'm just a po' cold nigger

The plantation Negro knows that "he has a place" in the city and with this awareness he delights in telling stories or reciting poems that show the Negro "besting the white man." There is an evidence of growing race consciousness on the part of the Delta Negro:

Think something of yourself you crazy dunce
No matter if you was a slave once
Every nation done been a slave once
They didn't draw up and act a dunce
Think because you a nigger
You just can't get no bigger

With the rise of race consciousness among Negroes, songs not only became less expressive and spontaneous, but the songs seem to have some purpose other than mere expression. Some of the purposes are to ridicule whites, or to make subtle protest against the bulwark of racial segregation; others to stimulate racial pride. Judging from the reasons given for preferring Negro music, one can see clearly the growing race consciousness.[3] A youngster who frequents the movies of Clarksdale says:

I just like it best cause I can't get nothing out of what no white man do; but boy I get a thrill out of what the colored do. Because that's one thing they can do better'n white folks. Sometimes I have the radio on and hear whites and turn it off.

Likewise, Sue Flowers, one of the active members of the plantation church, comments:

I like Negro music the best. Heard that before I ever heard any other, and I'm used to it and can enjoy it the best. It seems to me like praising God through my own color, and I loves my color and I'll go further to praise them than whites. Ain't nothing no white man do sincere.

Today when a plantation Negro sings he is more likely to sing a popular song than a spiritual or folk song. Of the kinds of songs known by Negro sharecroppers on this Delta plantation, approxi-

[3] It should be noted that these subjects have little ideas as to Negro music, but the fact that they conceive of certain music as being "Negro music" is an important expression of race consciousness, racial identity, and loyalty.

mately 47 percent are popular songs, and 19 percent, spirituals; 30 percent, church hymns; 4 percent, work songs.

Although both the younger and older generations are familiar with popular songs, the former is far more acquainted with them than the latter. Of the favorite songs of the older generation nearly 29 percent were popular songs (songs definitely other than church or religious songs); 32 percent hymns, 22 percent spirituals; 14 percent blues; and 2 percent lullabys and work songs. In contrast, the younger generation listed more than twice the number of blues as given by the older generation: 30 percent blues as favorites, and 38 percent other popular songs; 8 percent hymns; 22 percent spirituals; and 2 percent work songs.

These findings would indicate that the folk tales and folk songs are now showing the effect of juke boxes, radios, and movies on spontaneous expression. It shows, further, that as acculturation advances, the less prestige value folk expressions seem to have. This is evidenced by noting that the plantation people chose as favorites more songs which definitely had no local origin. Thus, the extent of acculturation can be explained not only by the prestige and reward values accompanying new cultural traits, but by the fact that the urban cultural traits had opportunity to spread, came to be needs, and are now appreciated.

II

The investigation of church activity, likewise, reveals the effect of the impact of civilization on rural Negro life. This process reflects itself not so much in the further incorporation of the white man's religious rituals and practices as in the disorganization of the Negro plantation religious life. The church was irrefutably the center of Negro plantation life, for it was the socially accepted channel through which the people gave formal expression to their religious and social emotions. So compelling was the desire to express their religious emotions, that the people came together wherever they could; they assembled in the seed house, in the barns, on the levees, and in any other available building on the plantation.

But as the Negro feels the impact of city ways, there emerges in the community a duality of attitudes toward the church and minister. Everywhere there is the growing pervasive skepticism of the pretensiousness of the church, the declining authority of the church and minister, and the growing disinterested attitudes of plantation youth toward things religious and sacred. The younger generation are largely indifferent either as to the necessity of joining the church, or, if they are already members, as to the "putting out" of the church. Their comments and stories ridicule ministers.

Some of the ministers in the Delta are aware of the secularizing influence of the city. Others, though few in number, try to reverse the inevitable change by stressing the values of the traditional way of life. One of them is reported to preach sermons against formal education: he points out to the congregation how much better things were in the past, "when men and women wasn't out searching for idolatry and education." Another minister likened an educated person to a mad dog, against which the community had to arm itself. Once when a county agricultural agent tried to improve the quality of the hogs within the area by new breeding, a minister replied by choosing as his sermon topic "Blood Don't Make Meat."

In a feeble effort to stem this inevitable tide, or to swim with it, some ministers are adopting secular means. But this causes conflict within the church. Some innovations are felt to mean a decline in the spiritual values of the church; especially is this true of the older generation. Matilda Mae Jones, fifty years old, reveals her attitude of disgust toward the changes. She says:

Songs they sing in church now feel like fire burning. What do I mean? Well that's how I feel. You know how fire burns; all fast and jumpy, and leapy like. Well that's just the way these swing church songs are now. Yes sir, most churches now call themselves getting on time or something the other. Getting so some churches got people that don't pray like they used to. Praying, I'm telling you, seem to be getting out of style. Just now, they got the Lord's prayer set to notes. Long time ago people used to sing, rock, and moan. Call that "rocking Daniel"; but now they only want you to rock when you rock up to put that money down. They done put a new touch on "Give Me That Old Time Religion," and now they got it in another tune. They don't have no time to bring up "Hallies" like, "I'm Going Home on the Morning Train, The Evening Train May Be Too Late." The other day, the church lasted all the day, but that wasn't with preaching and singing. They was trying to get money.

On the other hand, the younger generation favors these changes.

Even the church entertainment shows a considerable degree of urban influence. Churches

sponsor "Heaven and Hell" parties, to go to which —according to one informant,

You buys a ticket, which tells you which a way you'll be going: to Heaven or to Hell. No you can't go to both of them. I guess you got to do what the ticket says. Well, if you gets a ticket to Heaven, they serves you ice cream and cake, and you just sits around and talks and play games. However if you gets a ticket to Hell, they serves you hot cocoa, and red hot spaghetti, and they dance, play cards, checks, and do most anything.

The fact that more plantation families belong to the burial association than to the church may be regarded as significant. A sociological import lies in the fact that the burial association is a secular institution. Sue Sampson's account may be considered as an indication of the present trend. She says:

I really think it's better to belong to it than the church. Members have to be particular about one another's wives and husbands. You see, you can give a person laws when he's going to the church but the lodge is the thing when it comes to compelling you to stick to your laws.

Now I can tell you in just about a summary way what the lodge means to me. The other night an old sad looking woman pinched me, and I was so mad, I wanted to kill her. If she just hadn't been a lodge member and just a church member to me, I probably would have. But I couldn't do a thing cause she was a member of the lodge. So I just smiled and acted kind of nice.

With the increasing participation in urban life, the mental horizon of the people is slowly expanding. George Johnson, a 63 year old Delta plantation Negro, who has been on the plantation all of his life as a sharecropper, now has a radio. He has learned to read and expresses rather articulately the effect of literacy on traditional religious notions. He says:

There ain't nothing I can do about this unfair life here, but I got my God and my kind of God allows for all things to be right. I don't believe that God is a person. I just don't. Most folks see God all up in the sky with the stars. I used to see him as a gray haired old man. People long time ago took things they thought rather than what they knew. Now I learned all this like I told you. I just been to the sixth grade, but I ain't stopped learning yet. Yes sir, I learned all this in a book called *The Miracle Power*. There ain't

no such thing as seeing a ghost. God is the spirit. I been having some books here that explains all about the stars and I know that God isn't a gray haired old man sitting up there.

The impact of civilization and the resulting changes in church, minister, and religious behavior in general can be summarized as follows: new forms of ridiculing ministers; declining rates of attendance; greater emphasis upon pecuniary and secular values than upon the spiritual life of the community; and, the substitution of other activities for the past all inclusive functions of the church. These factors indicate that the church is no longer the vital institution. Owing to the fact that there exist vested interests, the rigidity of sentiments and habits, social and cultural sanctions of its institutional role, the old plantation church tends to resist present forces of cultural change. There is, there ore, the wide gulf between the attitudes and the traditional religious values.

III

The foregoing discussion indicates that acculturation is in evidence in the Delta. The acquiring of new culture traits means change in the attitudes, sentiments, and values of the people who make these new traits as vital parts of their daily activities. It is a widely recognized fact that a well established institution resists innovations. Conflict is thus inevitable.

It seems apparent that under the conditions of racial discrimination the religious practices of the plantation Negro are not subject to great change. Moreover, in the cultural conflict situation there is very little prestige to be had by incorporating more of the white man's religious cultural traits, while, on the other hand, in other areas of Negro plantation life, there are yet prestige and reward values accompanying the acceptance of new cultural traits from the city. A hypothesis here proposed is that the acculturation of an excluded group will take the form of a S–curve. In other words, there is a period of rapid incorporation of alien traits in the beginning but this process slows down when group conflict becomes evident. As the group becomes articulate in its protest against caste or other limitations, the members begin to create its own history and group loyalty.

THE POSITION OF RACIAL GROUPS IN OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURES*

CLARENCE E. GLICK

Tulane University

I

Certain aspects of the changing position of racial groups in the occupational structures of plantation and industrial economies may be profitably related to the broader analysis of recurrent sequences in patterns of race relations.[1] During the period in which race relations as we ordinarily think of them have been developed, roughly the last four and a half centuries, occupational structures, or complements of available jobs, have undergone constant, and at times rapid, changes.[2] Various types of occupations have

emerged and disappeared, but in general there has been a great expansion in the number and variety of employment opportunities. Occupational climbing, for those free and able to move up, has come to be regarded as a natural and normal possibility. Race relations have been tied in intimately with these tremendous occupational changes as races which were formerly geographically separated and culturally distinct from one another have gradually been drawn, willingly or unwillingly, into common economic enterprises.

One of the most widespread forms of Western expansion which brought races together was the plantation system. Here, generally under some form of forced labor, racial groups were fitted into an enlarging occupational structure in a definitely hierarchal order. The term racial symbiosis has sometimes been used to characterize the relationship between racial groups in the early phase of the development of plantation areas,[3] as a way of emphasizing the fact that people of different racial groups could participate in a common division of labor, even though cultural differences between them were so great that they did not and could not participate in a common social and moral order.

But the very character of the plantation system which establishes itself on racial symbiosis involves features which ultimately alter the relations of the groups in the system. One salient feature is

* Read before the tenth annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society, Knoxville, Tennessee, April 11, 1947.

[1] By "recurrent sequences in patterns of race relations" I refer to the theoretical framework for the study of race relations set forth by R. E. Park under the concept of the "race relations cycle," and developed further by W. O. Brown, J. Masuoka, and others. See, for example, R. E. Park, "Our Racial Frontier on the Pacific," *Survey Graphic*, IX (May, 1926), 192–96; R. E. Park, "The Nature of Race Relations," in E. T. Thompson (ed.), *Race Relations and the Race Problem* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1934), pp. 1–47; W. O. Brown, "Culture Contact and Race Conflict," in E. B. Reuter (ed.), *Race and Culture Contacts* (New York: McGraw-Hill Co., 1934), pp. 34–47; J. Masuoka, "Racial Symbiosis and Cultural Frontiers: A Frame of Reference," *Social Forces*, XXIV (March, 1946), 348–53.

[2] The general sequence of changes in ecological organization associated with Western expansion has been succinctly summarized by R. D. McKenzie in his article, "Industrial Expansion and the Interrelation of Peoples," in E. B. Reuter (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 19–33.

[3] R. D. McKenzie, "Cultural and Racial Differences as Bases of Human Symbiosis," in K. Young (ed.), *Social Attitudes* (New York: Henry Holt, 1931), pp. 736–64; J. Masuoka, *op. cit.*, pp. 352–53.

that persons of different races and cultures are brought together in a single, more or less isolated, frontier community under a unified social control. Under such circumstances, as Edgar Thompson has pointed out, deculturizing and re-acculturation are inevitable.[4] As a part of this process members of the subordinated group become able to perform an increasingly wider range of jobs. Also, if and when the opportunity comes to move into jobs off the plantations, the acculturizing process prepares them to participate in the world of meanings, values, and interests shared by other workers of different backgrounds, including those of the traditionally superordinate group.

In some plantation areas, such as Hawaii, where the system of forced labor has been on the basis of temporary servitude rather than of slavery, this process of acculturation may be far from complete at the time the laborers leave the plantations. Since plantations generally are established in areas of undeveloped resources, the areas provide other opportunities much more rewarding than plantation jobs, without the irritating controls imposed on plantation laborers. It is inevitable under such circumstances that the imported workers will leave the plantations as soon as possible. A continuous importation of new laborers is necessitated. Moreover, as the former workers improve their economic position their fellow-countrymen remaining on the plantations become increasingly disgruntled, prone to strike or to run away from their contract obligations. In fact, the planters may stop importing members of one group and bring in different groups, one after another, as the process is repeated. In Hawaii, for instance, after discouraging experiences with native labor, the planters imported, in succession, Chinese, Madeira Islanders, Japanese, Koreans, Puerto Ricans, and Filipinos.[5]

In Hawaii the succession of importations gave rise to occupational succession. Each group in leaving the plantations tended to move into the less desirable and less remunerative jobs available off the plantations, as these were relinquished by previous occupants who were moving up the occupational ladder. There was a minimum of racial

friction because of two sets of facts. First, job opportunities were rapidly increasing in subsidiary forms of agriculture, secondary and service industries, trade, and a variety of other commercial and professional services. Second, there was a minimum of competition from whites for many of the more desirable occupations. These circumstances had striking effects on the changing position of the Chinese in the Hawaiian occupational order. Having been the first imported laboring group, and thus having gotten in on the ground floor, they proceeded to move up rapidly. By 1930 (about fifty years after the peak of Chinese immigration) over 70 percent of the entire Chinese population was concentrated in the port city of Honolulu where, of course, the most lucrative positions generally were to be found. And, by this same year, 50 percent of the employed Chinese men (most of whom were second or third generation Hawaiian-born) had succeeded in becoming established in professional, proprietary, clerical and skilled classes of employment. In contrast, only 36 percent of the gainfully employed men of all races were in these preferred occupational classes. By 1930 the Chinese males held their "statistical share" of all professional positions in the Islands, four times their "statistical share" of the proprietary positions, and three and a half times their "share" of the clerical and other white collar jobs.[6]

II

The changing position of the Chinese was closely tied up with a plantation economy that was itself undergoing extensive changes. This alteration of plantation economies has particularly significant implications in the South. Regardless of the nostalgia of some Southern writers and many other people for the good old days, basic changes, which will ultimately affect the position of the racial groups in the over-all occupational structure, continue to take place in another direction. An earlier period witnessed a tremendous increase in the number of plantation jobs in the region as the plantation economy expanded and pushed inland across the wilderness. But the very expansion of the plantation economy sets in motion a combination of conditions which initiate further developments. As production increases and as wealth

[4] E. T. Thompson, "The Plantation: The Physical Basis of Traditional Race Relations," in Thompson (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 201–18.

[5] A. W. Lind, *An Island Community: Ecological Succession in Hawaii* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), chaps. IX and X.

[6] Clarence Glick, "The Relation Between Position and Status in the Assimilation of Chinese in Hawaii," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVII (1942), 669–70.

accumulates through plantation enterprise, cities grow up to handle the commerce, meet the needs for secondary and service industries, transportation facilities, and professional services. Entrepreneurs recognize the possibilities of developing additional natural resources, such as lumber, minerals, coal, gas, oil. Since an adequate labor supply with a relatively low standard of living is available, others begin to consider the advantages of processing staple commodities into locally manufactured products. However slowly or rapidly these changes take place, plantation jobs come to make up a smaller and smaller proportion of the total jobs in the region. Increasing application of mechanical power to plantation agriculture accelerates this trend.

Members of the different races in the region usually will not share equally in the new occupational opportunities. Attitudes of racial prejudice and racial preference are only the more consciously recognized of the numerous factors involved. With reference to the Chinese in Hawaii the importance of their being free to move into Honolulu at the very time that city was growing most rapidly has been shown. Similarly, Dr. Harlan Gilmore, of Tulane University, takes the view that the concentration of Irish and Italians in certain occupations in New Orleans may be explained on the basis that large numbers of immigrants of those groups came to the city just at the period when demands for workers in those jobs were greatest. Many jobs associated with early stages of city growth, particularly of commercial cities which generally precede industrial cities in plantation areas, are unskilled and are filled by members of a subordinated group which has traditionally performed the menial work in the area. On the other hand, the development of small industries will at first call for a high proportion of skilled craftsmen. Those who have the skills are likely to be of the dominant racial group, although not of the upper economic class of that group.

Another significant feature of the emerging urban economic order is that the cultural backgrounds of the urban entrepreneurs are likely to be much more diverse than was true among the planters. The large number of such entrepreneurs within an urban community, the relative lack of unified action among them, the greater feeling of competition, the greater impersonality of industrial relations, and the more calculating attitude toward business operations are factors which pro-

duce a great diversity of situations under which the different races work together. Some of these situations depart considerably from the racial mores. In a study of employment in New Orleans a few years ago Wilson and Gilmore found that in several industries in that city white and Negro operatives worked on the same job, with no evidence of segregation imposed by the management or demanded by the workers.[7] The majority of the deviations from custom are doubtlessly not so extreme, but their combined effect is to create a situation in which traditional limitations upon occupational mobility may be relaxed.

A much more commonly recognized feature of urbanization in plantation regions is the increase in the proportion of individuals of the subordinated group who are able to establish themselves in professional, business, and white collar occupations, particularly in connection with the servicing of individuals of their own group. As a general rule, of course, the number who do succeed in thus establishing themselves in the preferred occupational categories by no means give the racial group a statistically proportional "share" of the jobs in these occupational classes that are available in the urban community as a whole.[8] Nevertheless, this development usually does represent a pronounced departure from their traditional occupational distribution under the plantation regime. However, the attitudes toward these gains and toward particular jobs may be expected to vary somewhat according to the phase of the race relations sequence the groups happen to be in when the changes occur. A comparison of the Chinese in Hawaii with the Negroes in the South may clarify this point.

At the beginning of their urbanization in Hawaii, the partially acculturated Chinese were still primarily interested in making their individual fortunes as quickly as possible in order to return to their native villages in China. The remunerative aspects of their occupations, therefore, were

[7] Logan Wilson and Harlan Gilmore, "White Employers and Negro Workers," *American Sociological Review*, VIII (1943), 700–704. Additional information obtained through interview with Dr. Gilmore.

[8] A. W. Lind, *op. cit.*, pp. 257–64; Alba M. Edwards, *A Socio-Economic Grouping of the Gainful Workers of the United States* (Washington: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1938), pp. 36–59; Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1944) I, chap. 14.

primary considerations. If these occupations implied an inferior status in the Hawaiian society it was of little concern to the individual Chinese. His status aspirations were in another world.

But within a generation all of this changed. The acculturation process was rapid and amazingly complete among the Hawaiian-born Chinese. The world of social status with which they became identified was Island interracial society itself—not even a modified Chinatown version of it. Those of the immigrant generation gradually gave up their dream of retiring to the native village and redefined their own goals in terms of the wishes of their children and grandchildren. Chinatown disappeared as Hawaiian-born Chinese established homes in every part of the city. The residential dispersion of the Chinese was symbolic of the thoroughgoing breakdown of social isolation between them and other groups in the community. The social status implications of occupations became increasingly important. Social disapproval of the illegal and shady or degrading occupations which had been followed by some of the older Chinese became pronounced. Movement into the professions became popular, even though perhaps not so financially rewarding as business. Occupation, along with education, residence, recreation, and so on, is evaluated partly in terms of its use in gaining access to desirable social circles or prominence in civic activities. Under such conditions position in the occupational structure becomes rather well integrated with status in the social structure, each reflecting and reinforcing one another in a society where race relations are becoming relatively subordinated to class relations.[9]

The era of urbanization in the South, on the other hand, did not get under way until after the acculturation of the Negro was fairly complete. Few Negroes identify themselves with any society outside of America. Consequently, Negroes moving into the growing urban centers share with the other participants in this developing society not only ambitions for improved economic position, but also aspirations for a satisfying status in the emerging urban society. Although the growth of Negro populations in urban centers has made possible a marked increase in the number of Negro individuals in certain professions, businesses, and white-collar jobs in the Negro community, this situation is regarded with ambivalent feelings. In comparison with the whites, who have set the standards by which most Negroes have come to evaluate their own accomplishments, the Negroes' share of the better paying and socially more desirable jobs is still much smaller than their proportion in the labor force. At the same time, within the existing racial patterns, establishment in these occupations brings relatively less remuneration than the same occupations bring to whites. While individuals in these occupations enjoy an envied status in the Negro community, they continue to be isolated, except under fairly circumscribed conditions, from whites who have similar occupations and interests. The low average level of income of those having highest social status among Negroes and the ever drastic need for money for group enterprises make it relatively easy for the successful Negro gambler, policy king, or racketeer to enjoy a social status much higher than whites of similar occupations would be likely to enjoy in the white community.

The impossibility under the segregated pattern of Negroes attaining a complete and proportional complement of positions on all levels of the occupational structure plays its part in developing race consciousness and stimulating race conflict. But this race consciousness adds another complicating factor. Race conscious individuals look to upper class Negroes for leadership in movements which have as their ultimate objective profound alteration of the segregation pattern. However, many of the upper class Negroes owe whatever economic security they have to the protective wall thrown around their own occupations by racial segregation, or to accommodative patterns of behavior in their occupational contacts with the dominant group. Serving as leaders in such movements means trying to change the status quo which gives them their own favored position.[10]

This contrast between the Chinese in Hawaii and the Negroes in the South again indicates the relative character of the race relations pattern. In its various stages it is an interactive factor which enters into the group's interpretation of the occupational situation as much as it affects the actual facts of that situation.

One of the most important current developments likely to have a marked impact upon the position of racial groups in the occupational structure of the

[9] Clarence Glick, *op. cit.*, pp. 672–79.

[10] Myrdal, *op. cit.*, I, 703–704; II, 766–67.

South, as it departs from its plantation dominated era and enters an industrial era, stems from the present character of industry. Industrialization of the South is taking place during a period when one of the main trends in industry is toward the de-skilling of industrial jobs. The proportion of highly skilled craftsmen required is steadily decreasing. Labor is becoming easily interchangeable. Individuals with little or no industrial experience can be trained quickly for various jobs. Potentially, then, members of the subordinated racial group who have been concentrated excessively in the unskilled classes of occupations become immediate contenders for jobs in the industrial labor force. At the same time the labor organization which expands most readily under such a form of industrialization is likely to be the industrial union rather than the craft union. Industrial unions, in general, are committed by their very nature to include all workers of all races and ultimately to become involved in working toward improving the economic status of the less privileged races. Industrial union policy is likely to recognize the view, as stated by Northrup, that "a decline in the income of Negro workers imperils the wage standards of white workers and the strength of unions by creating a supply of cheap labor and, possibly, of strikebreakers."[11] As mechanization of plantation agriculture sends hundreds of thousands of both white and Negro plantation workers to the Southern cities, and perhaps from there to other parts of the country, there seem to be valid reasons for belief that only a union movement which alters older racial ideologies and practices would have much chance to organize industrial workers into cohesive units for effective collective action.

It must not be overlooked, either, that these labor movements will probably spread from the urban centers back to the plantations themselves. As plantation agriculture becomes more mechanized, thousands of marginal producers will be eliminated. There will be increased mergers of profitable cotton holdings under corporate control, an increase in impersonal relations between employers and agricultural laborers, and an eventual identification of mutual interests among workers, in all probability without regard to race. The occurrence in 1946 of a 78-day strike on the Hawaiian sugar plantations of unionized white,

part-Hawaiian, Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Puerto Rican, and Filipino workers may be a clue to coming events in the South.

III

The point may be raised here that the position of Negroes in the emerging occupational structure of an industrial South has been considered without reference to the recent and the anticipated migration of Southern Negroes to the industrial regions of the North. In some of the literature on race relations one senses a hopeful optimism that racial problems will solve themselves as Negroes and other minority groups spread out from areas of their greatest concentration until they are more evenly distributed over the country. It is particularly hoped that Negroes will migrate from the poverty areas of the South to the affluent areas of the North. Although Myrdal insists that the "solution" of the Negro problem is much too complicated to be solved by migration, he himself advocates establishing a "positive migration policy" of helping Negroes get to places where their opportunities on the labor market are best.[12]

There seems implied in this point of view a belief that the expansion of employment opportunities which has been true in the past is to continue into the indefinite future, and that Negroes who succeed in getting away from the South can hope to be absorbed into new jobs opening up in the North. Putting aside the present temporary employment situation, it seems apparent that the period of expanding occupational opportunities in industrial centers of the Northeast and Mid-West is about over. Millions of European immigrants and their descendants established themselves in attractive occupational roles in Northern industrial cities during a period of rapid growth and occupational mobility, but Negro migration comes at a time when those cities are reaching or have already passed the peak of their expansion. In some of them the Black Belt continues to grow while the rest of the city is losing population. Failure to sense the significance of these changes can result in a grossly exaggerated hope that Negroes who move to one of these cities today will be pushed up the occupational ladder by other people moving cityward tomorrow. Occupational mobility for all population groups has slowed down and entrenchment of

[11] Herbert R. Northrup, *Organized Labor and the Negro* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1944), p. 256.

[12] Myrdal, *op. cit.*, I, 198.

white persons and groups in the more desirable occupations means that on the whole the job ceiling for Negroes remains low.

Widespread failure to obtain or to hold positions in the occupational structure has been more characteristic of the northward migration of Negroes than of any previous group moving into this region. The unfortunate timing of the period of Negro migration in relation to the phase which the economy has entered was particularly demonstrated in the last depression. As might have been expected, unemployment was most extreme among the Negroes who, in addition to the handicap of directly racial factors, had been the most recent incoming group.[13]

If the economic organization of the North is approaching a point when little if any continued expansion of occupational opportunities may be expected, a number of effects in the field of race relations may be anticipated. In a world of rapidly expanding occupational opportunities, improvement of economic position has generally been an important prerequisite to rise in social status. Even where contacts between individuals of different racial groups remain more categoric than intimate, possession of symbols of social status, made possible by pecuniary achievement, tends generally to encourage, however, subtly, the feeling of social identification across racial lines. Failure of the economic organization to provide opportunities to climb along these traditional lines thus restricts these avenues of social advancement. Action against racial discrimination in employment may help some particular persons in particular situations, but the chances are that even if all racial discrimination were removed in employment there would be much less rise of Negroes as a whole, even in the North, than many would

anticipate. As the occupational structure becomes more rigid, there is a tendency to pass on occupational privileges, at least on the preferred levels, through family lines, primary group contacts, and other group associations.[14] The laissez-faire method by which a racial group pulls itself up by its bootstraps would not seem to be a very realistic forecast for the future, so far as the North is concerned.

At the same time, in an economy whose trends are straightening out, the decline in occupational mobility for all individuals, regardless of racial identity, has the effect of increasing the underlying factual base for economic class solidarity. One may well anticipate an intensification of unrest among wage-earners to follow from a leveling off of economic opportunity, particularly, of course, if the much predicted depression materializes. For one interested in race relations, there is cause to consider how such unrest may become mobilized. Recent trends in the labor movement, in many older as well as in the newer unions, show an increasing integration of Negro and white workers in a common program.[15] At the time when race-consciousness and occupational striving might have been expected to have produced even more racial conflict than has occurred, racial movements appear to be on the way to being absorbed in class and other broad, societal movements.[16] The phenomena at this stage of the race relations sequence, then, become involved in and somewhat obscured by changes in the general character of the society.

[14] Orvis Collins, "Ethnic Behavior in Industry: Sponsorship and Rejection in a New England Factory," *American Journal of Sociology*, LI (1946), 293–98.

[15] Northrup, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–16, 255; H. R. Northrup, "In the Unions," *Survey Graphic*, XXXVI (1947), 54 ff; Chas. S. Johnson and associates, *Into the Main Stream*: A Survey of Best Practices in Race Relations in the South (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947), pp. 114 ff.

[16] St. Clair Drake and H. R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis*: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1945), chap. 9.

[13] C. L. Dedrick and M. H. Hansen, *Final Report on Total and Partial Unemployment, 1937*, IV. The Enumerative Check Census, Census of Partial Employment, Unemployment, and Occupations (Washington: U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1938), pp. 38–39, 71–73, and 103–105.

UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION: AN ECONOMIC TOOL

ISRAEL L. SONENSHEIN

Federal Security Agency

The whittling down of wartime controls climaxed by the end of effective price control has engendered a mood of holiday gaiety in certain circles as they envisage the "killing" which lies ahead. The most raucous laughter is reserved for those prophets who foresaw the likelihood of widespread and prolonged unemployment as a result of the sudden collapse of the war economy. Currently, after short spells of idleness immediately after V-J Day, there is numerically full employment, and at least in retrospect such a situation was fully to be expected in view of the colossal store of demand for all sorts of products built up in the war years. Whatever government officials may have said in a desperate effort to obtain continuation of vital controls and the enactment of full employment legislation, the following prognosis would have had a strong basis—and it may be speculated it's the one they actually had in mind: That the first 2, 3, or 4, or even possibly 5 years after the war would more or less take care of themselves; that the satisfaction of demands left unsatisfied at war's end would utilize labor resources with a great degree of completeness; but that danger lay ahead after the leveling off of demand to a point where it fell below supply, unless measures were taken in advance to prevent the collapse in employment which might follow. No reason is evident for abandoning that analysis, except to dilute it with pessimism.

Though we are currently in a state of numerically "full" employment, jobs remain unfilled and perhaps two or three million are unemployed. Of these a portion are receiving unemployment compensation. Another group has already exhausted its rights but continues without work.

It is not too surprising that this seeming paradox should provoke widespread "exposés" of "abuses" in the administration of unemployment compensation. The most systematic, though not the only effort in this direction is the series of articles which recently appeared in the *Baltimore Sun* relating to the administration of the Maryland law. A major point of emphasis in this series— as in other critical comments—has been the opportunity given to unemployed workers to refuse unsuitable work without loss of compensation

rights. The object of this paper is not to consider these charges, but it may be appropriate to point out that their nature and the spirit in which they are evidently made permit the suspicion that more than an attack on abuses is involved.

There is evidence that to a large extent the wages offered for unfilled jobs are lower than maximum benefit rates, to which, of course, only higher bracket wage-earners would be entitled. Such rates in turn are very much below current wages for skilled—and in many cases—unskilled work. Labor organizations look upon the current attack as an attempt to depress wage levels; but whether this is so or not, there is at least some basis for considering it as aimed at unemployment compensation itself as much as at abuses in its administration.

The melancholy possibility of a bust after the current boom and the recent essays in exposure suggest the need for a new look at the basic function of unemployment compensation or insurance in our system of economic relations.

If anything may be taken as axiomatic about unemployment compensation, it is the proposition that it must always be thought of as part of a total social policy. At bottom the proper end of a social policy is the expansion to the greatest possible degree of the living standards of those to whom it purports to minister. To put the matter a bit differently, the central aim of social life is to make increasingly available the means necessary for human fulfillment. The notion of higher living standards implies a decrease in the effort necessary for the satisfaction of bodily needs and a correspondingly wider opportunity to satisfy those of a non-bodily character. Unemployment compensation, along with other social security programs, must find its appropriate place in the scene set by this aim.

As a result of economic conditions in the late 20's and early 30's, "security" has taken on an importance in our thinking it never before possessed. The fear of economic insecurity has been and may in the future continue to be deeply influential in the shaping of our social, economic, and political institutions. Though much has been done in America in the last decade to allay this

fear, it would be exceedingly unrealistic to assume that it has been completely neutralized, or that its correlative yearning for certainty and stability is on the way to being extinguished. On the contrary, it has become so deeply rooted in the national mind that it has come to be regarded as an ultimate value. It would not be a great exaggeration to say that "security" has become a fixed idea in complete contradiction to the conception of America as the native habitat of adventure and change and progress, the embodiment of the dynamic. If we do not succeed in altering this fundamental outlook, it may well block the path to our true end.

The program for social security has been launched and its full structural fruition may be confidently expected before too many years have passed, albeit only devoted tending will bring it about. Now the time has come to look ahead to the longer goal in the manner of the grand strategist who begins to plan the next move as soon as the current one has been launched and begun to move forward. Social security cannot be a final target for the reason that it cannot provide for the large mass of our people the income necessary for their happiness, nor is it intended to do so. Only the fully effective application of labor and knowledge and ingenuity to the raw materials at hand offers any sure hope for the achievement of that level of income. In long range terms, social security may be conceived of as supplying a solid and absolutely indispensable footing beneath us so that we may move forward unafraid to that full utilization of our resources—human and material— wherein lies the basic condition of attainment of our great social purpose. If this is the general scheme, what is the position therein of unemployment compensation?

Like other specialists, those who are engaged in the administration of unemployment compensation are subject to vocational myopia. Conscious effort is necessary to avoid thinking of the program atomically and out of relation to other social security programs as well as the whole complex of social policy. It is insufficient to conceive of the program as aiming at the relief of want caused by a particular aspect of the behavior of the economy. If unemployment compensation is to contribute to the limit of its potentialities to the indicated development of our society, a reorientation of thought about the nature of the program must be

effected. That implies a new appreciation of its economic as distinguished from its humanitarian function.[1]

This aspect of the matter has of course been adverted to from time to time. But the relief of want and the consequences of want in terms of discomfort and suffering seem to have received a disproportionately large share of attention in the evaluation of unemployment compensation. No attempt is here made at exhaustive analysis of the possible contribution of the program to the push toward the final target of earned incomes adequate for happiness.[2] It is sought only to throw out elliptically a few suggestions.

1. The advancement of science implies in a progressive society relatively frequent and often widespread industrial readjustments, new products taking the place of those previously made and used, and old products coming within the reach of larger groups of people. Established industries and trades may in the face of scientific developments have to bow out as new and entirely different ones come in. Under the stimulation of war conditions, change-overs of the most extensive kind have taken place. And the absence of war-inspired drives in the future will certainly present new problems of industrial adjustment to be met before real progress in terms of higher living standards can be accomplished.

Whatever obstacles may have to be faced, stifling of such readjustments is unthinkable in modern times and inconsistent with what is here assumed to be the primary task of social organization. Yet such readjustments may, and often do, involve the displacement and unemployment of thousands of workers. The fear of being dislodged from an accustomed economic position— poor though it may be—has historically been one of the focal points of opposition to industrial development and finds current expression in the opposition to prefabricated housing and to the increasing mechanization of agriculture. Whether or not a program adequate to the task is likely to be achieved, it is impossible to say, and in any event that is outside the present discussion.

[1] The distinction is drawn so sharply only for purposes of analysis and emphasis.

[2] It goes without saying that happiness is not based on adequate income alone. The psychological and other conditions of happiness are outside the scope of the present discussion.

It is clear, however, that the failure to achieve such a program will make more steadfast, because more desperate, the opposition of workers to technical advances. Under circumstances where the worker is faced with a future having as its only predictable feature immediate and extended unemployment, his hostility is quite understandable.

Unemployment compensation may—but only if the program in operation at the time is adequate —with confidence be expected to mollify some of this hostility.[3] In a highly accelerated world, the introduction of new techniques, devices and materials, may at times involve profound alterations in the structure of the economy. The resistance to changes involving basic alterations of this kind would probably reach a point of great intensity. The neutralizing effect of an unemployment compensation program enjoying wide confidence would in such circumstances be invaluable. But the program could not enjoy the confidence of workers unless its coverage was universal, and its benefits sufficient in duration to bridge the gap in employment and sufficient in amount to permit decent living during the period of unemployment.

There would still remain, of course, the pressures exerted by those whose property interests in a preexisting arrangement would be threatened. It would fall upon other departments of social policy, which are outside the scope of this paper, to discover means for minimizing the impact of these resistant forces.

2. Another point, distinct but not unrelated: Whether our economy undertakes to work out its destiny through "planning" or through a new flowering of "free enterprise," it would be unwise to expect in the foreseeable future the complete eradication of occasional unemployment on a fairly large scale. Not only may serious unemployment result from revolutions in the methods of production or the death of industries, but also from developments of all sorts in other parts of the world, basic alterations in consumer demands, and the bursting of inflationary bubbles. If through unemployment compensation payments, the total national power to purchase commodities can be protected against serious depletion, the snowballing of such unemployment may well be avoided. The anticipated reconversion lay-offs, if they had materialized along the lines envisaged by the more pessimistic prophets, would have afforded an opportunity for judging empirically its efficacy in this direction. It is not suggested for one moment that unemployment compensation alone could in any important case be safely relied upon to end the difficulty. On the other hand it could perform the immensely vital function of holding the line by maintaining purchasing power until positive measures, assimilating the economy to the changed conditions, could make their influence felt. With regard to this function, the unemployment compensation program may be said to have self-annihilation as its objective.[4]

3. In connection with their study of the national income, economists like Robert Nathan have described the effect of savings on the functioning of our economy. Contrary to the precepts of Benjamin Franklin and generations of teachers, preachers, and parents, thrift, far from being an unmitigated virtue economically, may actually be a vice, which, when practiced to excess, helps bring on depressions. Restricted spending means less production which in turn means less income. Conversely, levels of production can be raised to the extent that consumption can be expanded.

If this analysis is sound, spending must be increased and saving decreased. The achievement of this double objective will require a campaign on a broad basis. For purposes of the present discussion, it is sufficient to note that unemployment compensation in its economic character can make here a positive contribution. The psychological motivation of thrift has of course many sides and it is impossible to say which of the many elements is decisive. Nevertheless, a widely-prevalent feeling of insecurity or fear of the future is clearly a principal motive.[5] Men

[3] All this is quite apart from the obligation of society to come to the aid of those of its constituents who suffer, as casualties in the march of progress, an immediate loss of income resulting in want.

[4] Sir William Beveridge looks upon the maintenance of full employment or avoidance of mass unemployment as a necessary precondition to the successful operation of a system of social insurance, mainly because of the huge financial strain. This is the reciprocal of the relationship sought to be stressed in the present paper. The financial strain also suggests a limitation on the availability of unemployment compensation as an instrument for checking unemployment. Cf. *Social Insurance and Allied Services, Report by Sir William Beveridge* (1942), p. 120, Section 301.

[5] During periods of inflation, there may be a sharp increase in spending arising from fearful anticipation of deflationary developments.

naturally seek to protect themselves against the hazards which lie in wait for them, not the least being that of enforced and prolonged idleness. Arguments about the relation of savings to lowered income and depressions may convince the intellect, but they are unlikely to remove the feeling of insecurity. Provision of suitable economic mechanisms can on the other hand dissipate much of it. An unemployment compensation program devised with a full awareness of its economic possibilities could be such a mechanism.

What philosophy of unemployment compensation is held may have internal consequences of some import.

1. If it and other social security programs are properly conceived as integral parts of a comprehensive social policy and not as unrelated atoms, the logical locus of their administration would seem to coincide with that of the other major phases of that policy. Uncoordinated direction of the several branches of social policy confronts us with the real danger of mutual impairment of their individual effectiveness and in turn frustration of the whole. The implementation of this idea has over a period of years evoked vigorous controversy, much of it along familiar "States' rights" lines. Other pragmatic considerations might be adduced in support of unitary administration, but our concern is only with the logical consequences of the conception of unemployment compensation here set out.

2. Not only its administration but the content of the program itself may be influenced by the idea we hold of its nature. The basic social obligation to relieve want and society's interest in the preservation of its human resources constitute a sufficient logical foundation for the contention that benefits should be sufficient in amount to provide subsistence in terms of minimum standards of decent living as determined authoritatively. On similar grounds it is difficult to resist the argument for duration of benefits commensurate with the existence of want. At the same time if the fulfillment of this obligation be conceived as the ruling purpose of unemployment compensation, subsistence needs would mark the top limit of benefit payments.

On the other hand, if full cognizance is taken of unemployment compensation as an instrument of economics and, in turn, of social policy, a strong case as a matter of logic could be presented for benefits adequate to permit of proper performance of its functions as such. From the economic point of view, it would be a matter of indifference whether or not subsistence requirements would be exceeded, for the benefit payments needed for this function might well be greater than those needed to conquer want. And the argument for indefinite duration would receive additional support. This is not to say that, as a matter of policy, the path from premise to conclusion must be followed blindly.

There is a widely held belief that compensated unemployment long continued is an agent of demoralization. But at present this belief is built on nothing more than an assumption which may turn out to be purely gratuitous. As a matter of fact, there is some evidence, discovered by scientific investigation, that unemployment itself and not the compensation paid with respect to it is the principal cause of demoralization. If, however, it should be found that compensation is an appreciable factor, it would be advisable not to permit the amount of compensation per unit of time to equal or exceed previous average earnings, except where such a limitation would bring the benefit amount below the subsistence level.

3. On principle, benefits should run as long as the purpose for which they are paid exists. In his report it will be recalled that Beveridge argued for unlimited duration of benefits. Rightly conscious, however, of the need to guard against the possibility of habituation to compensated unemployment, he suggested that after six months have elapsed the individual's right to continued receipt of benefits should be made conditional on his attendance at a work or training centre.[6] Along with the usual test of willingness to work,[7] provisions of this type would seem to constitute a wise qualification depriving idleness of any undue attractiveness in the eyes of the susceptible minority.

4. The rise of living standards and consequently the increase of the sum of human happiness depends in part not only on increases in wage rates but on the movement of workers from lower to higher skills.

Unemployment compensation statutes have partially sought to facilitate this movement by permitting unemployed workers to refuse employ-

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[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 128–9, sections 327, 328.

[7] Mass unemployment makes this test ineffective. Hence, one of the reasons for Sir William's great stress on the maintenance of full employment as conditioning the successful operation of a social insurance scheme. See footnote 4 above.

ment which is unsuitable in respect of enumerated factors. In recent years there has been a legislative tendency to circumscribe such provisions and restrictive administrative interpretations have accentuated the tendency to force unemployed workers to take jobs below their highest skills. Such a development, which now impinges most clearly on former war plant workers, is economically unjustifiable. It will be recalled that the current attack on unemployment compensation "abuses" is focused principally on the already limited provisions necessary to promote mobility. The full use of unemployment compensation as an economic mechanism aiding in the attainment of our primary social end is directly dependent on its fostering of opportunities for maintaining and raising living standards. Such use implies an expansion rather than a contraction of the financial protection given to unemployed workers while they seek work at their highest skills, however acquired.

5. Finally, the view of unemployment compensation here emphasized makes selective coverage illogical. Under present laws agricultural and domestic workers, the self-employed, and other groups—a total of perhaps 15 million—are outside the scope of the protection afforded by unemployment compensation. Since buying power holds the key to our basic problem as a society, its contraction is the harbinger of depression, and its maintenance and expansion an indispensable condition of prosperity. Depletion of the buying power of non-covered groups is obviously as serious a threat to the economy as that of the other groups. If unemployment compensation is an economic tool in the service of our total social policy, it would seem unreasonable not to use it as such. It follows that only the weightiest administrative difficulties—if any exist in reality— can be accepted as reasons justifying less than universal coverage. Economically, selective coverage is indefensible.

Unemployment compensation is then in its most useful aspect an integrated component of a total social policy aiming at making available the means of fulfillment to the members of the society it serves.

If the end of this policy is to be attained, our society must go beyond "security." In the words of the old philosophers, the social security program —as it is meant to be—is a "necessary but not sufficient cause" of incomes forming an adequate material base for happiness. But in its proper role as an economic mechanism unemployment compensation, as part of the social security program, is capable of materially helping the push toward that goal. There have been indicated above some of the logical consequences of recognizing unemployment compensation as an integrated component of social policy and as an instrument of economic planning and action.[8]

[8] The views expressed in this article are those of the writer, who is Senior Attorney, Office of the General Counsel, Social Security Agency, and not necessarily those of the Agency.

SERIES ON THE SOUTH

The economic, industrial and agricultural development of the South is the theme of a series of comprehensive feature articles being undertaken by the Daily News Record, a Fairchild Publication, which began Saturday, October 18. Running once a week in the Saturday Weekly Record edition of the Daily News Record, for a period of six months, these articles are the result of a broad-gauged economic survey such as has never been undertaken before by any other trade publishing organization. It is a scientific, disinterested study—a presentation of facts in a manner to claim interest from among a wide audience.

These articles are being edited by Harry E. Resseguie, chief of the Washington Bureau of Fairchild Publications, and will be in the nature of a continuing story. Mr. Resseguie has recently spent the better part of four months in the South gathering material, and will devote a great deal of additional time to field research before the series is completed. He is writing a number of the articles himself, while others in the series will be written by members of the Fairchild Washington Bureau and Fairchild staff correspondents in Southern cities.

The series breaks down into two parts. The first 12 articles are quite general in nature, most of them dealing with phases of the Southern economy such as power, railroads, motor transport, agriculture, etc. Subjects such as taxes, research, labor, the export-import situation, etc., are treated in a broad and general manner.

The second half of the series deals with industries with which the Daily News Record is in daily contact, such as the cotton textile industry; the rayon, hosiery, knit goods, woolen and worsted, the apparel industries and others of the textile and needle trades.

For the purpose of this survey, the widest possible definition of the South was adopted since all 13 states included have much of the same type of economy. The 13 states which are considered "the South" in these articles are: Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Kentucky.

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NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES: A CRITIQUE OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE*

MOZELL C. HILL

Atlanta University

THE FIELD OF RACE RELATIONS

In tracing the growth of racial theory in America during the past fifty years, E. B. Reuter came to the point where he was led to declare:

... There is urgent need for a body of science as a guide in the information of public policy ...But there are no present indications that the development of racial theory will be rapid ....There is a need at present for a basic ecological study of race problems that would completely define the order of race contacts and race problems that exist in the various biracial and multiracial areas. At present there is only a very sketchy body of comparable data, ...The need is for a coordinated series of monographic studies based on a concrete empirical investigation....The natural history of race relations has been blocked out in its main lines only ... neither social nor the presocial relations have been adequately analyzed, and both exist coincidentally in numberous areas of racial contacts. A series of comparable area studies is required.[1]

In this paper Reuter stressed the need for a racial theory which would conceptualize the processes by which minorities are incorporated into the larger social structure. It was his contention that race relations have been incompletely analyzed and imperfectly described; and that if a body of valid and meaningful propositions are to be developed, the field of race relations must blend with, disappear into, and become a part of sociological science. That is to say, racial theory needs to be divorced from a dependence upon physical concepts, biological processes, and cultural analyses, and moved into a sociological frame of reference

which is *sine qua non* to an adequate understanding of the social process involved in majority-minority group relationships. In a similar vein, Louis Wirth[2] has criticized the present conceptualization of the pattern of race relations in the United States by indicating some of the principal stumbling blocks in intelligent racial policy. Since acts of policy antedate fact finding, particularly systematic fact finding, his position is that racial practices bear little relationship to even the fragmentary systematic knowledge now available in the field. Furthermore, policies which regulate race relations are dictated by practical expediency more than by defensible scientific considerations.

Several anthropologists approaching race relations from a cultural point of view have undermined pseudo-biological theories, but they have not, as yet, produced a theoretical scheme suitable for understanding the dynamics of race relations. Ruth Benedict and Ina C. Brown,[3] for example, orient the field of race relations as largely based upon historically accidental factors. Thus ethnocentrism—"we feeling" or "in group" attitudes—of racial and cultural groups is a key concept for use in accounting for forms and content of relationships. While this approach is highly suggestive and, to be sure, empirically grounded, it is essentially moral, since the assumption is that strong in-group feelings tend to obstruct genuine understanding. E. B. Reuter was disparaging of the social scientist who allowed his attention to be obsessed with the sequence of events of a local area. This, he claimed, leads to "confused theories of social change ... [and] if social relations are put outside the orbit of the natural they are automatically classed as unnatural or supernatural ... the only possibility of control is through prayer ..."[4]

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* Read before the tenth annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society, Knoxville, Tennessee, April 11, 1947. This critique is motivated primarily by a desire to make a contribution to improvement in the teaching of sociology through efficient use of some of the most thorough and informative periodical releases. Also the paper is calculated to stimulate interest in making wise selections of materials by pointing out gaps, inadequacies in theory, and unevenness that appear in the literature. See Paul B. Foreman and Mozell C. Hill, *The Negro in The United States, A Bibliography* (Stillwater: The Research Foundation of Oklahoma A & M college, 1947), 24 pp.

[1] "Racial Theory," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 50: 460.

[2] "Race and Public Policy," *Scientific Monthly*, 58: 302–12; "The Unfinished Business of American Democracy," *Annals*, 244: 1–9.

[3] Ruth Benedict, "Race Problems in America," *Annals*, 216: 73–8; Ina C. Brown, "Race Relations in the United States," *Journal of Negro Education*, 13: 280–6.

[4] "Southern Scholars and Race Relations," *Phylon* 7: 229–30.

Robert E. Park,[5] in contrast, was particularly intent upon development of appreciation of the social forms within which processes of race relations operate. His concepts of symbiosis and socialization as basic processes in community and society, respectively, are fruitful research leads because this frame of reference stresses social and presocial aspects of race relations as coexistent in areas of racial contact. Furthermore, Park's notion of social distance and the marginal man, as well as his thinking on racial caste, has given fresh impetus to a more adequate racial theory. Several exploratory papers on the status of race relations have been presented by C. S. Johnson.[6] While these discussions are valuable in that they broaden the perspective in this field, notwithstanding they neglect to differentiate clearly between "what is" and "what ought to be" in race relations. What is needed by way of research in this connection is not so much an attack or defense of telic value schemes, but rather a raising of questions, the testing of significant hypotheses, and the establishment of a set of scientific principles of race relations.

THE NEGRO IN THE AMERICAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Questions of origins and transmission of Negro culture have been raised by a number of social scientists.[7] Herskovits would approach the problem of the Negro through historical and ethnological investigations. He would study the principal sources where Negroes resided prior to being brought to this country to determine the nature and amount of Africanism in the beliefs and behavior of Negroes. Park, on the other hand, addressed himself to the task of determining the extent to which Negroes have become acculturated in the American social structure. The polar theories of both Park and Herskovits are highly suggestive but need to be undergirded with additional empirical investigations. Moreover, this appears to be a convenient spot for cross fertilization of two opposing views regarding the provenience of American Negro cultural forms. At least the combination of these two points of view might contribute to an improvement in sociological instruction as well as provide a more fruitful point of departure for further study.

The caste-class hypothesis of W. Lloyd Warner as a schematic device for examining Negro-white relations has been a matter of controversy among sociologists.[8] Oliver C. Cox has been particularly loud in his objections to the hypothesis, insisting upon a clear-cut distinction between race and caste. He has gone even further to indict Gunnar Myrdal's[9] frame of reference as being mystical. The opposite position has been taken by Allison Davis when he attempted to show how "caste" integrates into one system all the aspects of Negro-white behavior. The only institution not completely integrated into the caste system is the economic. Present manifestations of conflicts and violence in the *Deep South* indicate a more effective competitive struggle between whites and Negroes. It appears that the dissension over the value of the caste-class hypothesis can be reduced to differences in emotional and academic orientations in the social sciences. There is little doubt that the scheme has been abused by too much speculation on the part of some sociologists. However, the several critics of the scheme have failed to realize that Warner meant the concept as no more

[5] "Symbiosis and Socialization: A Frame of Reference for the Study of Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, 45: 1–15.

[6] "The Present Status of Race Relations," *Journal of Negro Education*, 8: 323–35; "The Present Status of Race Relations in the South," *Social Forces*, 23: 27–32.

[7] See M. J. Herskovits, "On the Provenience of New World Negroes," *Social Forces*, 12: 252–59; "Negroes in the New World: Statement of a Problem," *American Anthropologist*, 32: 145–55; "Problem, Method, and Theory of Afro-American Studies," *Phylon*, 7: 337–54; also, R. E. Park, "The Conflict and Fusion of Cultures," *Journal of Negro History*, 4: 111–33; "Reflections on Communication and Culture," *American Journal of Sociology*, 44: 187–205; Alain Locke, "The Negro's Contribution to American Culture," *Journal of Negro Education*, 8: 521–29.

[8] See W. L. Warner, "American Caste and Class," *American Journal of Sociology*, 42: 234–7; O. C. Cox "An American Dilemma: A mystical Approach to the Study of Race Relations," *Journal of Negro Education*, 14: 132–48; "The Modern Caste School of Race Relations," *Social Forces*, 21: 218–26; "Race and Caste: A Distinction," *American Journal of Sociology*, 50:360–8; Allison Davis, "Caste, Economy and Violence," *American Journal of Sociology*, 51: 7–15; M. R. Brooks, "American Caste and Class: An Appraisal," *Social Forces*, 25: 207–11.

[9] *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1944).

than an abstraction—an ideal type construct—as it were, which ostensibly may or may not have concrete reality. The salient and crucial point is obviously how much social understanding and predictive control of Negro-white relations can be accrued when this conceptual tool is employed in examining race relations. What is needed is a series of monographic studies which would investigate the ways by which the behavior of Negroes and whites become regulated and controlled in the American social structure. The efficacy of the caste-class hypothesis needs to be tested more thoroughly in the light of dilemmas and contradictions of status and power relations within the structural organization of American Society.

Racial prejudice is assumed to be the major factor determining the positional status of minority groups.[10] It is assumed by one group of writers that racial prejudice represents and protects the dominant group's vested interest. That is to say, race prejudice is an elementary expression of conservation and/or a mechanism of defense of the interests of the dominant groups which are threatened by the "out-group." O. C. Cox, on the other hand, takes the standpoint of insisting upon a sharp distinction between racial prejudice and racial intolerance. The former he declares to be a "socio-attitudinal" type of labor exploitation and is accordingly reactionary; while the latter is an "attitude of unwillingness" to tolerate the beliefs and practices of a minority group.[11] His scheme applies to Negro and Jewish minority groups, respectively. It becomes clear that considerable synthesis is needed as regards the nature of race prejudice. There is also need for further study which would blend this concept into modern racial theory and come to treat it as a subjective expression of competition and conflict as well as a subjective barrier interrupting the processes of

racial and cultural fusion—that is, as phenomena in social psychology.

Perhaps the weakest link in respect to acculturation is at the point of the rural Negro. This seems rather startling in view of the emphasis placed on rural life by the United States Department of Agriculture, the Rural Sociological Society, and most Negro educational institutions. Even more surprising was the uncovering of the voluminous array of available materials yet unclassified which have been accumulated by the census, the New Deal, and war agencies. No over-all comprehensive scheme of sociological relevance appears in periodical literature for ordering and sythesizing these data into the science of race relations.[12]

There is need for additional studies which would describe, analyze, and test hypotheses regarding differential status and personality development of minority children and adolescents as compared with those of the dominant group. Several suggestive hypotheses have been constructed by sociologists, anthropologists, and social psychologists, but few empirical studies testing these leads have appeared.[13] Undoubtedly the most illuminating approach to perceptive and discriminative status and personal orientations among Negroes is Samuel M. Strong's constructive

[10] See W. O. Brown, "Race Prejudice as a Factor in the Status of the American Negro," *Journal of Negro Education*, 8: 349-58; R. E. Park, "The Basis of Race Prejudice," *Annals*, 140: 11-20; E. B. Reuter, "Why The Presence of The Negro Constitutes a Problem in the American Social Order," *Journal of Negro Education*, 8: 291-8; T. D. Ackiss, "Social Psychological Implications of White Supremacy Complex," *American Journal of Sociology*, 51: 142.

[11] "Race Prejudice and Intolerance—A Distinction," *Social Forces*, 24: 216-19.

[12] One notable exception has been the surveys of M. Work, "Racial Factor and Economic Forces in Land Tenure in the South," *Social Forces*, 15: 205-15. The author raised the question as to how socio-economic forces are obscured in southern agriculture because of the legal attitudes of tenancy which have a racial basis; another exception is E. T. Thompson's "The Planter in the Pattern of Race Relations in the South," *Social Forces*, 19: 244-52. He speculates that without the planter there probably would have been no race problem in the South. Moreover, the declining status of the planter and the rise of poor and middle class whites to socio-political influence are complicating the problem rather than resolving the issues involved; also see Arthur Raper, "The Role of Agricultural Technology in Southern Social Change," *Social Forces*, 25: 21-30

[13] Allison Davis, "American Status Systems and the Socialization of the Child," *American Sociological Review*, 6: 345-56; "Racial Status and Personality Development," *Scientific Monthly*, 62: 345-62; "The Socialization of the American Negro Child and Adolescent," *Journal of Negro Education*, 8: 264-74; S. Winston, "Cultural Participation and the Negro," *American Journal of Sociology*, 40: 593-601: M. C. Hill, "Social Status and Physical Appearance Among Negro Adolescents," *Social Forces*, 22: 443-48.

typology.[14] His empirically derived Negro social types are valuable methodological tools for understanding distinctions, contradictions, and dilemmas of status and personal roles among Negroes in relation to whites. Strong's studies in the Chicago Negro community provide suggestions for further sociological investigation in collective behavior.

DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS

There are many imperfections and much yet to be desired in the study of demographic trends among Negroes in the United States. The studies appearing in periodical literature present a variety of approaches which can be conveniently classified into formal statistical analyses of population, migrations, and health studies.[15] However, there is need for a program of cooperative social studies among sociologists which would systematically assemble and analyze available demographic data scattered in such sources as federal, state, local, and institutional reports. Demographic features of a population group are continuously changing and in order to approach its dynamics, a scheme for ordering materials is needed. This program is essential because continuous "stock taking" of the general demographic features of population groups is requisite to the definition and delineation of specific problems for intensive social study. Another neglected question regarding the dynamics of the demographic features between minority-majority groups concerns the nature and amount of miscegenation and Negro "passing." The materials on this question are extremely thin and highly opinionated. While a few pilot studies have appeared,[16] there is need for intensive in-

vestigations in this area. Answers to this question would shed considerable light upon one important aspect of the dynamics in Negro-white relations.

NEGRO COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Studies of the formal and informal, voluntary and involuntary, groupings through which the behavior of Negroes and other racial and cultural minorities become regulated in the community are limited and extremely difficult to assimilate into a logical system. Only a few of such investigations have appeared in the literature, and most of these have been focused upon ecological and accommodative problems of Negroes living in metropolitan communities.[17] C. R. Jones and Warren Banner have employed the concept of social stratification, which is concomitant to community living, for analyzing race relations in rural southern towns,[18] while M. C. Hill has studied the organization, personal motivations, and relations between whites and Negroes residing in separate racially homogeneous rural communities in Oklahoma.[19] A series of summary papers synthesizing what is already known regarding the regulatory behavior of Negroes and other minorities in the community structure would not only lead to a refinement in racial theory, but also might contribute to filling the gap of needed descriptive materials as well as aid in the establishment of intelligent community policy and action programs. Requisite, too, is a series of comparative area studies. It would also be helpful if some agency like the Department of

[14] "Negro-white Relations as Reflected in Social Types," *American Journal of Sociology*, 52: 23–30.

[15] See T. Lynn Smith, "A Demographic Study of the American Negro, " *Social Forces*, 23: 379–87; Ira De A. Reid, "Negro Immigration to the United States," *Social Forces*, 16: 411–17; S. C. Mayo, "Rural and Urban Residence of Negroes in the United States," *Rural Sociology*, 10: 10–16; L. C. Florant, "Negro Internal Migration," *American Sociological Review*, 7: 782–91; R. C. Weaver, "Economic Factors in Negro Migration—Past and Future," *Social Forces*, 18: 90–101; C. V. Kiser, "Fertility of Harlem Negroes," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, 17: 128–51; Clark Tibbetts, "Socio-Economic Background of Negro Health Status," *Journal of Negro Education*, 6: 413–28; Mary Glover, "Trends of Mortality Among Southern Negroes," *Journal of Negro Education*, 6: 276–88.

[16] See J. H. Burma, "Measurement of Negro Passing," *American Journal of Sociology*, 52: 18–22.

[17] E. W. Burgess, "Residental Segregation in American Cities," *Annals*, 140: 105–15; E. F. Frazier, "Negro Harlem: An Ecological Study," *American Journal of Sociology*, 43: 72–88; "The Negro Community," *Social Forces*, 7: 415–20; R. W. O'Brien, "Beale Street, Memphis—A Study in Ecological Succession," *Sociology and Social Research*, 26: 430–6.

[18] C. R. Jones, "Social Stratification of the Negro Population in a Small Southern Town," *Journal of Negro Education*, 15: 4–12; Warren Banner, "Southern Negro Communities," *Phylon*, 7: 255–9.

[19] M. C. Hill, "The All-Negro Communities of Oklahoma," *Journal of Negro History*, 31: 254–66; "Basic Racial Attitudes Toward Whites in the Oklahoma All-Negro Community," *American Journal of Sociology*, 49: 519–23; "A Comparative Analysis of the Social Organization of the All-Negro Society of Oklahoma," *Social Forces*, 25: 70–7; "A Comparative Study of Race Attitudes in the All-Negro Communities of Oklahoma," *Phylon*, 7: 260–8.

Agriculture, the Land-Grant College Cooperative Social Studies Program, or the Southern Regional Council would coordinate a series of comparative investigations of community organization employing a constructive typology suggested by Burgess, Becker, and others.[20]

INSTITUTIONAL TRENDS

Sociological studies regarding the nature and trends of institutional behavior is another seriously neglected area. Although many studies of familial, religious, and educational life of Negroes have been attempted, only a few scholars have undertaken purposive studies which contribute to the development of racial theory.[21] Research in the institutional behavior of Negroes reveals that trends in familial, religious, and educational life reflect the basic direction of the general population. The trend toward the companionate family with a corresponding lessening of the strength of the role of the Negro mother, and the changes taking place in religious thought and practices among Negroes raise pertinent questions in respect to the problem of acculturation and fusion of cultures previously mentioned.

R. J. Bunche, Leo Alilunas, H. G. Gosnell, and others[22] have been seriously at work on changes

in the political behavior of Negroes, and Guy B. Johnson, J. T. Sellin, O. C. Cox, and E. F. Young[23] have investigated the problem of Negro crime and law enforcement. However, these materials are out of date and do not analyze the data of the federal reporting series on judicial and penal statistics. What is needed is an up-to-date study in this field which would pull together the best available materials into one single volume. Cross fertilization of materials and frames of reference among sociologists investigating institutional behavior is notoriously lacking. The conventional view that certain segments of institutional behavior are not in the province of sociology and that they should be left to the other social sciences has tended to hamper research in this area.

AGENCIES OF COMMUNICATION

The development of the various agencies and forms of communication in Negro society has been subjected to many critical reviews. However, little interest is evident in developing a natural historical approach to this problem. In fact, sociologists have steered relatively clear of this area. A number of scholars, however, have raised questions of sociological relevance regarding the Negro Press, literature, music and graphic arts, and the radio.[24] These studies need careful

[20] See E. W. Burgess, "Sociological Research Methods," *American Journal of Sociology*, 50: 478; Howard Becker, "Sacred and Secular Aspects of Human Sociation," *Sociometry*, 6: 207-29.

[21] See E. F. Frazier, "Present Status of the Negro Family in the United States," *Journal of Negro Education*, 8: 376-82; "The Impact of Urban Civilization upon Negro Family Life," *American Sociological Review*, 2: 609-18; C. S. Johnson, "Present Status and Trends in the Negro Family," *Social Forces*, 16: 247-58; C. E. King, "The Negro Maternal Family: Product of an Economic And Social System," *Social Forces*, 24: 100-4; T. D. Ackiss, "Changing Patterns of Religious Thought Among Negroes," *Social Forces*, 23: 212-15; V. E. Daniels, "Ritual and Stratification in Chicago Negro Churches," *American Sociological Review*, 7: 352-61; R. I. Bringham, "The Price of Segregation," *Survey Graphic*, 35: 156 ff; E. S. Marks, "The Negro College," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 12: 288-97.

[22] R. J. Bunche, "Negro in the Political Life of the United States", *Journal of Negro Education*, 10: 567-84; Leo Alilunas, "Legal Restrictions on the Negro in Politics," *Journal of Negro History*, 25: 153-2; H. F. Gosnell, "Negro Vote in Northern Cities: Factors in the Shift to The Democratic Party," *National Municipal Review*, 30: 264-7. See also E. W. Henderson,

"Political Changes Among Negroes in Chicago During the Depression, *Social Forces*, 19: 538-64; E. H. Litchfield, "Case Study of Negro Political Behavior in Detroit," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 5: 267-74.

[23] Guy B. Johnson, "The Negro and Crime," *Annals*, 217: 93-104; J. T. Sellin, "Race Prejudice in the Administration of Justice," *American Journal of Sociology*, 41: 212-17; O. C. Cox, "Lynching and the Status Quo," *Journal of Negro Education*, 14: 576-88; E. F. Young, "The Relation of Lynching to Size of Political Area," *Sociology and Social Research*, 7: 348-53.

[24] See P. L. Prattis, "The Negro Press and Race Relations," *Phylon*, 7: 273-83; L. M. Jones, "Editorial Policy of Negro Newspapers of 1917-18 and 1941-42," *Journal of Negro History*, 29: 24-31; C. S. Johnson, "The Rise of the Negro Magazine," *Journal of Negro History*, 13: 7-21; Frederick Detweiler, "The Negro Press," *American Journal of Sociology*, 44: 391-400; S. A. Brown, "American Race Problems as Reflected in American Literature," *Journal of Negro Education*, 8: 275-90; W. T. Fountaine, "Social Determination in the Writings of Negro Scholars," (Rejoinders by E. F. Frazier and E. B. Reuter), *American Journal of Soci-*

documentation and synthesis. Out of such a coalescence well defined patterns might be perceived which would ground the research in this area. Undoubtedly inquiry into the form and direction of mass communication in Negro society would contribute much toward the development of a science of race relations.

RACIAL MOVEMENTS AND ACTION PROGRAMS

The social psychological mechanisms through which Negroes have channeled their frustrations and yearnings within the cultural framework of American society have been examined by Hortense Powdermaker.[25] This paper contains commendable theoretical and methodological implication for investigating racial movements and action programs among all minorities. Needed in addition is a series of comparative studies of minority programs of action. A notable effort was made by the *Journal of Negro Education* in its 1944 summer issue. However, the articles are thin in that they are neither comparative nor undergirded by careful field investigations. Such questions as the relation between the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Negro Youth Congress, the Urban League, the Back to Africa Movements, and other minority group programs such as the Columbians, Klu Klux Klan, Congress on Racial Equality, Anti Defamation League, et cetera, would add much to the understanding of race relations.

The fact that little significant improvement has been made in interracial policy in this country is reflected in the loose and scanty literature on this subject. It is convenient to categorize the literature on racial movements into two types—militant and accommodative.[26] However, these studies are little more than descriptive essays and add little or nothing to a science of race relations. This is indeed one of the most fertile spots for sociological research.

THE PROSPECTS IN RACE RELATIONS

The various attempts to foresee the course of race relations in the United States have been virtually fruitless. As a matter of fact, the literature under the caption of "Prospects in Race Relations," has not been much more than prophetic fortune telling and it usually takes the form of forewarnings of an immediate or remote impending danger. Some of the writers[27] take a gloomy view toward the lessening of racial tension, while others[28] assume a more optimistic position in looking toward the future of Negro-white relations. Ruth Benedict[29] assumes the philosophical position of the cultural pluralist in predicting a greater appreciative recognition of racial and cultural differences between all ethnic groups in the future. However, the fact that there is virtually a complete absence of scientific methods for prediction and control in the field of race relations is sufficient evidence of the lack of a science of race relations and the corresponding need for more empirical studies.

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ology, 49: 302–15; Edward Bland, "Social Forces Shaping the Negro Novel," *Negro Quarterly*, 1: 241–8; W. L. Daykins, "Race Consciousness in Negro Poetry," *Sociology and Social Research*, 21: 45–53; J. A. Porter, "Four Problems in the History of Negro Art," *Journal of Negro History*, 27: 9–36; R. H. Gillin, "The Negro Folksong in American Culture," *Journal of Negro Education*, 12: 173–80; John Lovell, "Social Implications of the Negro Spiritual," *American Anthropologists*, 33: 157–71; J. S. Slokins, "Jazz and Its Forerunners as Examples of Acculturation," *American Sociological Review*, 8: 570–5; J. T. McManus and Others, "Motion Pictures, The Theatre and Race Relations," *Annals*, 244: 152–8; C. A. Barnett, "Role of Press, Radio, and Motion Pictures in Negro Morale," *Journal of Negro History*, 12: 474–89.

[25] "Channelizing of Negro Aggression by the Cultural Process," *American Journal of Sociology*, 48: 750–8.

[26] See R. J. Bunche, "Programs and Organizations Devoted to the Improvement of the Status of the American Negro," *Journal of Negro Education*, 8: 539–50; C. S. Johnson, "National Organizations in the Field of Race Relations," *Annals*, 244: 117–27; Guy B. Johnson, "Negro Racial Movements and Leadership in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology*, 43: 57–71.

[27] See Ellsworth Faris, "Prospects of a World Without Intolerance," *American Journal of Sociology*, 49: 457–64; W. E. B. Du Bois, "Prospects of a World Without Race Conflict," *American Journal of Sociology*, 49: 450–56.

[28] See Alain Locke, "Whither Race Relations?" *Journal of Negro Education*, 13: 398–406; H. H. Long, "The Position of the Negro in the American Social Order; a Forecast," *Journal of Negro Education*, 8: 603–16.

[29] Ruth Benedict, "Recognition of Cultural Diversities in the Post War World," *Annals*, 228: 101–7.

MOCHE: A PERUVIAN COASTAL COMMUNITY. By
John Gillin. Smithsonian Institution, Institute of
Social Anthropology, Pub. 3. Washington: Govern-
ment Printing Office, 1947. 166 pp. $1.00. Paper.

Moche is a rural coastal community of Peru.
It is an interesting laboratory case for social
scientists, for although it still preserves what Dr.
Gillin calls a general orientation of the common
man's life and activities, derived possibly from the
Mochica civilization, it is more properly to be
considered "a peasant exhibit of the Creole cul-
ture," combining many elements both aboriginal
and European, and at present rapidly becoming
part of the modern world. Moche as a composite
culture and as a changing culture is the emphasis
of the report.

Dr. Gillin's study of this community is im-
pressive because it achieves a sensible balance
between fact and theory. In many separate
articles and monographs the author has advanced
some of his anthropological views concerning
human behavior and human relations. But in this
report he never permits his personal approach to
overshadow the data; at the same time, his pre-
vious studies on the theoretical level are reflected
in a wise choice of Moche data for recording. As
Kluckhohn has pointed out, anthropologists who
have no conceptual schemes, right or wrong, are
likely to collect a lot of useless information.

The interpretations are there, usually well
separated from the source material, and worded in
pleasingly simple language. This is quite a
blessing to those of us in other fields, who either do
not have the time or do not have the inclination to
wade through the details, yet who are very in-
terested in the theoretical findings; I mention the
simple language because I was astonished to find
that I did not have to translate an unnecessary
complex of technical idioms into plain 2-cent words
before considering their meaning; I sincerely
wish that more social anthropologists would try to
hasten their professional maturity in this respect.

Too often, nowadays, anthropologists adopt an
interpretive scheme and ride it doggedly through-
out their ethnologies, forcing and distorting the
source material into the pattern of their thinking.
Dr. Gillin presents his factual data factually.
When we are fully equipped with the raw material,
we find his own reflections on the subject. For
example, the book contains an especially rich
collection of details on magic, witchcraft, and
religious beliefs; in reading this section we have the
interesting sensation that we are there in Moche,
seeing and listening to it all, and not that we are
being confronted with details to prove some
theoretical point advanced by the author. Then
we come to Dr. Gillin's own remarks:

Thus there are at least two fairly well organized
bodies of religious beliefs and practices which function
in a 'parallel' fashion in Moche and are not functionally
interrelated, even in the sense of being opposed to each
other. On the whole, witchcraft tends to be indi-
vidualistic and divisive, socially speaking, and anxiety-
raising, psychologically speaking, while Christianity
tends to be unifying in its social effects and anxiety-
reducing in its psychological results.

Further on in this section are the author's de-
velopmental remarks on the psychological aspects
and socializing functions of religious practises.

Dr. Gillin does not attempt to batter some
significance from material or situations that do
not, to him, offer opportunity for interpretation.
For example on page 114, where less mature
anthropologists would feel compelled to present
"organization charts" with dozens of radiating
lines, Dr. Gillin points out the more significant
fact that at Moche the only constituent groups are
the immediate families and these "often have a
somewhat blurred position from the legal and
religious points of view," and that other group-
ings present no clear-cut general pattern of re-
lationships. Should another student want to
investigate this matter further, or challenge Dr.
Gillin's statement, the raw data on organizations
are there to work with, but the average reader, like
myself, is very thankful that he was not forced to
study a number of charts, only to find that they
meant nothing after all.

Dr. Gillin's remarks on the Creole cultures of
Latin America in general and of Moche in parti-
cular are excellent. He declines the romantic
temptation to view Moche as a modified survival
of aboriginal Peruvian culture, pointing out that
"if Moche's culture is a product of its history, it is
no less the foundation of its future." He prefers
to view Moche as "one of the seedbeds from which
is growing the new Pan-Peruvian or Creole culture,
the culture of today and tomorrow, which char-
acterizes a nation of living human beings seeking
and finding a place in the world community."
Dr. Gillin writes:

We have persisted in seeing the Latin Americans
either as latter-day Indians with an impoverished native
culture or as tainted Iberians fumbling with the tra-

ditions of Spain and Portugal. It is as if, since an 'angel food' cake contains appreciable amounts both of eggs and of sugar, we should refuse to recognize it as an angel food cake, but insist on considering it either an omelet or a chunk of candy.

Dr. Gillin then proceeds to analyze the Creole culture, contrasting it with the "Republican Native" culture characterized by certain Quechua and Aymara groups described by Kubler, Mishkin, and Tschopik. He discusses briefly the various movements which have attempted to halt creolization: Indigenismo, Hispanismo, and Modernismo, and concludes:

It is doubtful that any of these movements will ever completely attain its objective in the sense that any particular set of cultural elements for which the proponents respectively argue will become exclusive in the culture of Peru. But, if they will examine the emerging Creole culture, they will see that something from each of their favorite cultures has been woven into the fabric of Peruvian life.

The book concludes with an enumeration of the various elements which make up the culture of Moche: Mochica, Tiahuanacoid and Chimu, Sierra influences, and European.

This is an excellent volume in almost every respect. Space does not permit me to describe in detail the almost impeccable format. In spite of large bodies of factual details, illustrations, useful tables and charts, glossary, and index, it achieves both economy of space and pleasing appearance.

ROBERT WAUCHOPE
Middle American Research Institute,
Tulane University

GUAM AND ITS PEOPLE. By Laura Thompson. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947. 367 pp. $5.00

When *Guam and Its People* first appeared in 1941, its major emphasis was on educational problems. The present revised and enlarged edition takes into account the fact that the Island was occupied by the Japanese for two and a half years and that Guam is now a major United States naval base. It is unfortunate that the author was unable to revisit Guam before preparing the present revision, but her earlier field work on the Island and a careful study of available documentary materials enable her to include the major issues which face administrators responsible for the Island today. Miss Thompson describes

her book as "a pioneer attempt to understand the people of Guam and their problems in so far as these problems are related to their culture, history, and geography."

Guam, the largest and southernmost island of the Mariannas, has a native population of less than 25,000. Racially, like the other ancient Chamorros, the Guamanians seem to have been of the Polynesian group but mixture with Spaniards, Filipinos, and other peoples has gone on for over four hundred years with consequent modification of the physical type.

Culturally, too, the people of Guam have been affected by their varied contacts. "Nowhere else in the world," writes Miss Thompson, "is found quite the same medley of culture traits which fuse within the boundaries of this tiny tropic isle." Catholicism from Spain; culinary arts from Mexico; bull carts, carobaos, clothes and cock fights from the Philippines; public schools, politics and sanitation from America blend with survivals of the ancient culture.

It may shock some Americans to learn that although Guam has been an American possession since 1898 neither the Constitution nor the laws of the United States apply to the Island. In a report to the United Nations Guam is classified as an "unorganized United States possession." The inhabitants of the Island, intensely loyal to the United States throughout the war, have never been American citizens but "United States nationals" whose only "rights" are the guarantee against deprivation of life, liberty and property without due process of law. A people's congress, elected by popular vote in the years immediately preceding the last war, has advisory functions only. The Navy Department has, since the War, again reported that Guamanians are not qualified to assume the duties and responsibilities of citizens. In view of the world wide ramifications of the problem of colonies and dependent peoples our colonial record in Guam is of international significance, and this book is valuable in the light it throws on the whole question of military government of civilian populations.

Miss Thompson's book, however, is not primarily a study of American Naval control in the Pacific. It is rather a study of an island community which has felt the impact of Spanish, American, and Japanese rule and which has been influenced by innumerable cultural currents. In spite of these varied influences much of the native culture remains and the community life has an

integration and continuity that is surprising under the circumstances.

Guam and Its People is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of other peoples. The book is readable, and there are maps, illustrations, and "a village journal" which add to the reader's pleasure and understanding.

INA CORINNE BROWN

Scarritt College

RACES, LANDS, AND FOOD. By Radhakamal Mukerjee. New York: The Dryden Press, 1946. 107 pp. $2.25.

Southeast Asia, Northern Australia, Oceania and Africa possess vast but as yet undeveloped areas capable of supporting hundreds of millions of peasants. India and China are teeming with peasant families needing but the chance to pioneer these lands, to make them new sources of needed food for themselves and for the world.

The substance of the primary argument brought forward by this little book is contained in the following quotations (p. 30).

Asiatic settlement in the pioneer regions has to come under proper and intelligent international regulation adjusted to the needs of agricultural economy of each region, which will have to be carefully surveyed and planned in advance, area by area, for land reclamation and utilization . . . . The ideal in the case of Asiatic settlement will be a steady rate of intake of immigrants, the large majority of whom will be peasants with a sprinkling of artisans, shopkeepers, traders, and professionals, and their planned distribution in the agricultural belts, in order to develop a balanced agricultural structure of the land. The actual rate of intake will be governed by the rate at which agricultural extension actually takes place.

Only a scientific human ecology and an absence of racial prejudice could thus bring about a fair planning of the world's population and unutilized resources. There is need to study in each pioneer belt each soil type, each vegetation type, and each rainfall type in order to find out crops and methods of cultivation from the zones that have the same climatic controls.

The author is doubtless right in assuming that old-style colonialism and economic imperialism are on the way out. But that large-scale plantation operation will, or should be, thrown into the discard at the same time is subject to question. Dr. Mukerjee rightly champions peasant subsistence agriculture, and is right in saying that big plantations have in the past conflicted with this. The realistic view of the situation seems to be that

development of the agricultural resources of the earth and feeding its increasing populations call for discovering how to *combine* efficient, large-scale industrialized agriculture and manufacture with a genuine revival of small subsistence farming and village industry.

There is some shallow special pleading unworthy of the author. He rightly condemns (pp. 22 ff.) the disastrous effects of European commercial exploitation on native lands and populations. But when he writes:

With Asiatic agricultural colonists, soils will be less likely to be depleted, for soils are a part and parcel of the religion of ancestor worship and the tradition of good neighborliness that have to be bequeathed to the generations unborn . . . .

he is naively forgetting the denudation and poverty of soil in vast deforested and overworked areas of India and China, due to millennia of misuse: areas like northwest India and central west China where British and American engineers, foresters and agriculturalists have been and are required to convert desert and barren slopes into watershed and arable land . . . .

Again, when he writes,

. . . in the new lands, the development of diversified farming and light industries will be very greatly aided by the settlement of Asiatic subsistence farmers, which will indirectly raise the standard of living and efficiency of the natives.

he is, to the reviewer at least, indulging in a form of special pleading verging on the fatuous. Certainly where I have observed the effect of peasant Indian and Chinese emigrants ("coolies") on indigenous natives in Oceania and South Asia the natives have not benefited by the contacts.

Such wishful thinking weakens the author's valid argument and authority. This little book "packs a full load" of significant fact and thought. As Harold Ickes points out in the Introduction (p. 2) world peace and security require "reapportioning populations of the earth to assure the availability to them of the essentials of life," and "maximum utilization of world facilities and resources in an effort to produce sufficient food and material to equal our needs."

Dr. Mukerjee's closing words (p. 107) are worth pondering:

Population adjustment in Southeast Asia and the Pacific is the cornerstone of peace in both the East and

the West. For both social justice and world peace are one and indivisible.

E. S. CRAIGHILL HANDY

Oakton, Virginia

THE CITY OF WOMEN. By Ruth Landes. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1947. 248 pp. $3.00.

Candomblé, the Africa-derived ritual system for worshipping Afro-Catholic religious symbols, is the central theme of this book, which reads far more like a very intelligent travel work than the technical record of an experienced anthropologist's observations in Bahia. By her informal style Landes has richly captured the spirit of Brazilian Negro life. At the same time she has not neglected to relate her particular subject matter, religion, to other aspects of the social situation.

Aristocratic whites in Bahia had long manifested a quasi-scientific interest in the rites of candomblé and it was into this role that Landes found herself fitted. Her book is rich in personal experiences describing the problems of an anthropologist trying to gain entry into an exotic society and providing considerable information concerning her field work techniques. What impressed the author most about the religious system of the Negroes was the dominant role which it provided for women. In their rites the "mothers" and "daughters" of the cult temples enjoy the experience of excitingly displaying themselves in public dancing on top of which, when they become possessed by a god, they really gild the lily. The priesthood is economically supported by the men who also applaud the women and sometimes become their lovers. Many priestesses have never married. "They would have lost too much. Under the law of this Latin Catholic country, a wife submits entirely to the authority of the husband. How incompatible this is with the beliefs and organizations of candomblé! How inconceivable to the dominant female authority!" Despite their importance as supporters of the temples, men seem to experience considerable insecurity in this society where the women represent symbols of power. This insecurity is dramatically shown in cases of homosexual male priests and in the phenomenon of male transvestism, whereby "some men ... dress like women in order to enter a priesthood." Landes' data, therefore, tend to validate the observations of those social scientists who have pointed to the male's dominant social role in other societies as a determinant of female masculine striving. However the lot of the priestesses is by no means idyllic; they face problems of responsibility, rivalry, affection for men, and (increasingly) modernism which threatens the traditional ritual procedures. All of these are explored by the author who writes with deep sympathy for, and appreciation of, this New World blend of two ancient religious systems.

JOHN J. HONIGMANN

University of Toronto

WARRIORS WITHOUT WEAPONS. A Study of the Society and Personality Development of the Pine Ridge Sioux. By Gordon Macgregor. With the collaboration of Royal B. Hassrick and William E. Henry. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946. 228 pp. $3.75.

This is the second in the series of studies undertaken by the Office of Indian Affairs and called the Indian Education Research Project. The purpose of these studies, which combine ethnological and psychological techniques, is to analyze the present day culture and personality of certain Indian tribes now on reservations, so that an enlightened plan of education may be adopted.

The present book deals with the Pine Ridge Sioux, and represents a capable job. The first part of the report summarizes the aboriginal culture and its modification under reservation conditions. Here various points of social and cultural conflict are brought out. The second part deals with three formative periods in the life of the typical Indian child, namely infancy, childhood, and adolescence. The third part deals with the personality of the Indian child, and includes short life histories or sketches of ten children, a summary of the results of seven psychological tests, and a short excursion into depth psychology, based mainly on the foregoing material. The principal personality traits seem to be insecurity and anxiety. The typical young adult lacks spontaneity, imagination, and strong drives, a fact which is associated with repressive training in early life, which in turn is associated with the breakdown and reorganization of the Indian culture under reservation conditions. The final chapter attempts to show how, through a stabilization of the cultural environment, it may be expected that a more stable, secure, and mature type of person will be produced in the future.

As with other studies in this series the raw data on the psychological studies and a good deal of the original material on the life histories has been omitted. The book, in other words, represents a summary of the work, rather than a complete publication of the data collected.

Aside from the pragmatic values of this work in educational planning, the book seems to support once again the general theoretical view that an intimate relationship exists between culture and personality type. The analysis is detailed enough and explicit enough to illuminate many of the details of this relationship among the reservation Sioux.

JOHN GILLIN

University of North Carolina

LATIN AMERICANS IN TEXAS. By Pauline R. Kibbe. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1946. 302 pp. $3.50.

Ethnic group relationships were thrust into the foreground of national consciousness by the exigencies of the war and the idealism of the New Deal. "Good Neighbor" became a concept and a policy calling for a revision of our traditional attitudes and implemented by such programs as those of the Office of Inter-American Affairs and the Fair Employment Practices Commission.

Such a development was startling to Texans, who held the belief that there would always be "Mexicans" to harvest crops, work on construction, and do other casual labor and, hence, there was no point in "pampering" them. But under the prodding of the national government and the threat of an insufficient labor supply posed by the refusal of the Mexican government to approve Texas as an area in which Mexican nationals might be employed temporarily, there was set up in 1943 the Good Neighbor Commission of Texas. The volume under review was written by the Executive Secretary of this official agency and is largely devoted to a discussion of its place in the social economy of the state and of its activities. This fact explains two of the outstanding characteristics of the book: its use of a seemingly inexhaustible supply of official and semi-official documents; and its tendency to accept the "official" attitude on debatable issues which intrude themselves into the discussion.

There is a short historical section, devoted to the growth of organs designed to promote inter-American unity and to the Mexican revolutionary movement. But the real meat of the volume is in the discussion of the more recent position of the Latin American population of the state of Texas. Here pertinent facts are recited as to the educational and economic status, health, and housing of these folk who constitute about fifteen percent of the state's population. A very good chapter is included on the social and civic inequalities which exist.

Space does not permit even a summary of these facts. It must suffice to say that here we read again the story of a disadvantaged ethnic group and come away with the conviction reinforced that the problems of the Negro, Latin American, Jew, Pole and whatnot are basically one, differing only in degree, and in minor details of expression of animosity.

Not all the blame for this situation can be placed on the shoulders of either group, Miss Kibbe holds. Accurately she places the finger of accusation on some of the attitudes of the Latin Americans; though here it is very difficult to see how she can accuse of "exaggerated individualism" a people who live in tightly organized communities and who often work in groups under the leadership of a leader or "capitan" who makes all arrangements and who receives pay for the gang from the employer.

Remedies recommended fall into two general categories: mitigation of segregation through state legislation and institutional regulation, as in schools; and education leading to more sympathetic understanding through all available institutions. Mitigation of segregation would enable these citizens to take advantage of an expected increase in industrialization, where Miss Kibbe thinks the chances are much better for development of more equitable relationships. Here again, it is a little difficult to follow her logic. If these people have been unable to break down social isolation while working in the close personal relationships required by agricultural labor, it does not seem likely that in the much more impersonal, detached interaction of an industrial plant they would be more likely to succeed.

HARRY ESTILL MOORE

University of Texas

WHY MEN HATE. By Samuel Tenenbaum. New York: The Beechhurst Press, 1947. 368 pp. $3.50.

By title at least this volume purports to be an analysis of why men so bitterly dislike one another.

Actually it is primarily a collection of incidents of injustice inflicted upon minority groups, especially in America. The author's emphasis is placed upon hatred of the Jew and of the Negro, although other minorities receive some attention.

In his attempts to point out the bases of group animosity Dr. Tenenbaum depends largely upon such familiar concepts as stereotypes, paranoid tendencies, scape-goats, and the bitternesses of economic competition. The treatment of these concepts follows conventional patterns and will contribute little or nothing to the social scientist's understanding of group antagonisms.

The greater part of the book is taken up with what may be called a scrap-book dealing with man's inhumanity to minorities. The hundreds of items and incidents are rather loosely thrown together under such rubrics as "Bigotry in the United States," "They Are Conspiring Against Us," and "The Hoary Charge of Ritual Murder." To scholars these illustrative materials would inspire greater confidence if they were more frequently documented and were freer from minor but easily observable errors.

Tenenbaum observes that "an environment filled with prejudice leaves germs around and it is hard not to be infected—mildly or severely" (p. 176). If this doubtful principle were accepted, it might help explain the author's bias as revealed in such comments as "Hitler was only a loud-mouthed, hysterical parrot . . . ." (p. 20), "armed Cossacks, half-Russian, half-Tartar . . . " (p. 127), "the vermin press" (p. 249).

Perhaps a short paragraph from page 57 will indicate the weaknesses of the author.

It seems that individuals assume the appearance of the country in which they live. The American Japanese grows taller than the native Japanese as we have noted heretofore. Ninety per cent of the United States Negroes have white blood. The Jews in Germany resemble German, the Italians in America resemble the Americans; the Frenchmen in China, the Chinese.

If this doctrine of geographical determinism were valid, the people of the United States should resemble the American Indians—as indeed Dr. Karl Jung of Zurich thinks that they do. But would it explain how ninety or any more credible per cent of Negroes came to have white blood?

Another fault of Dr. Tenenbaum is his tendency to overstate his point. For example, he says that the Negro "was encouraged in miscegenation with the whites while he was an indentured servant" (p. 109). "In our own country, the main cause of the south's social, moral and political decay is its prejudice against the Negro" (p. 158).

In spite of the criticisms presented above, *Why Men Hate* is quite an interesting and readable book and may serve a very useful purpose in arousing the general public to a greater awareness of the handicaps and misfortunes of minority groups, provided the readers are not themselves antagonized by the author's own rather obvious anti-majority prejudice.

H. C. BREARLEY

George Peabody College

ACTION FOR UNITY. By Goodwin Watson. New York and London: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1947. 165 pp. $2.00.

This slim and concise study by Professor Goodwin Watson, of Teachers College, Columbia University, embodies the report of the Planning Survey sponsored by the Commission on Community Interrelations of the American Jewish Congress and is concerned with a scientifically founded program of "action research" in the field of intercultural and race relations in the United States. It summarizes the experiences of the more than four hundred governmental and non-governmental agencies which are engaged in this field, assesses critically the value of the work they are doing, and draws conclusions for further and more meaningful activity. Of its four chapters, the first one states briefly the problem while the last one indicates, equally briefly, the next moves which ought to be undertaken. Chapter II enumerates the types of organization, such as official organizations, organizations representing ethnic minorities, co-ordinating agencies, research agencies and the like, but the center of gravity of the entire study resides in Chapter III which is devoted to a survey of the "patterns of action." The author discerns seven such patterns, enumerated apparently in the order of their effectiveness, namely, exhortation, education, participation, revelation, negotiation, contention, and prevention. Of these, participation, contention, and prevention are most extensively discussed. The treatment throughout is of unusual clarity and precision and may well mark the beginning of the end of the pseudo-liberal biases, moralistic commonplaces and premature generalizations which have lately created a scientific morass out of what

used to be the heart and core of the American sociological enterprise. In numerous respects, Professor Watson's report could serve as the point of departure for new approaches, philosophical as well as technical, in the twin fields of race relations and intercultural education.

In some regards, however, this breaking of new ground does not go far enough. For instance, a course in anthropology for high school students, obviously devoted to debunking the concept of "race," merely dwells on the superficial aspects of what is commonly called race relations and overlooks the fact that cultural tradition rather than racial characteristics lie at the root of the matter. In short, it should be more clearly understood that intercultural education without culture appreciation is bound to remain a contradiction in terms. Other examples from the book might be cited.

However, as a rule, Professor Watson does not shirk responsibility. The difficulties and complexities of the issues in question are mentioned and the advantages as well as the disadvantages of various courses of action are weighed against each other and freely evaluated. Premature judgments are avoided and problems are posed rather than solved. Many pertinent questions are asked. These attempt to give direction and substance to efforts which are still somewhat erratic in character, as well as indicate the need for further research.

The concluding chapter called "The Next Moves," would deserve a closer scrutiny than the one which is possible here. It must suffice to say that many of the emphases in this chapter are excellent. Professor Watson thinks that a new leadership should be educated in the communities and that work should be done among those that stand most in need of it rather than among those who are good boys anyway. He maintains that in community relations a gram of prevention is better than a ton of attempts at cure. He believes that segregation should be attacked before prejudice. Perhaps, sociologists would have liked to go even farther than that, recognizing that segregation can hardly be combatted if the underlying reasons for it are permitted to persist. At any rate, Professor Watson advocates more militancy in attacking the barriers now excluding some groups from equality of opportunity in employment, education, health, housing and recreation. He finds that "the fear of doing anything which might

antagonize people" pervades middle class American life, but he is ready to admit that there is a legitimate place for the negotiator in intergroup tensions. He thinks that respect for other people has too often been conditioned upon their being recognized as "just like us" while the greater challenge is to build respect for their being different. He sketches a detailed program for action research and suggests that surveys such as his should be repeated from time to time. With the latter contention, there will be general agreement. No doubt that the diagnosis needs much refinement before we will be able to make up our mind as to the most effective therapy.

WERNER J. CAHNMAN
Brooklyn College

LAND USE IN CENTRAL BOSTON. By Walter Firey. Harvard Sociological Series, Vol. IV. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1947. 353 pp. $5.00.

As the title indicates, Mr. Firey presents in this book a very careful study of the ecological pattern of the city of Boston. The study of Boston is used as a vehicle to present a thesis that land use is determined by social values in various ways which have been largely ignored by other students of ecology. In so doing, Mr. Firey gives a very good, though hardly fair, summary of ecological theories. He then attempts to test each of these by applying it to Boston. Finding none of these theories adequate to explain the real ecology of the city, he explains the discrepancies on a basis of non-economic land uses resulting from sentiments, fetishes and other social values which get attached to various locations.

The book is a commendable effort and makes a worthwhile contribution to the science of human ecology. However, it will prove a provocative and perhaps irritating book to many students of ecology because it makes most of the mistakes so often made in presenting a supposedly new thesis. Mr. Firey gets his thesis partly by underinterpreting the writings of other students of ecology. Then in presenting his own thesis, his style does not connote much intellectual modesty. A tendency to be wordy and to employ a profound sounding terminology makes it less palatable than need be.

Mr. Firey, among other things, assumes that ecologists have ignored social values because they stress the regularity and predictability of ecological patterns. The science of sociology is based on the assumption that human action is pre-

dictable, but few research studies attempt to say why; sociological studies generally are not overburdened with perorations on free will, predestination or behaviorism. The first task of a sociologist in studying a social pattern is to prove that it exists and occurs in some reasonably predictable form. His stress on doing this may lead him to leave much unsaid as to how or why it occurs and may lead him to make unwarranted insinuations. Some ecologists in attempting to substantiate the existence of ecological patterns have used rather loosely such terms as natural, inevitable and impersonal. Mr. Firey has a tendency to interpret these terms literally as if he were reading works in astronomy and in so doing gives less credit to these writers than they deserve. Few American sociologists would consider any social phenomenon literally natural, inevitable or impersonal in the sense that the persons involved are operating as unconscious robots. Most sociologists likewise know that monistic descriptions and monistic explanations have seldom been adequate to analyze complex social phenomena. Therefore, regardless of the language they use, contemporary urban ecologists probably should be given credit for knowing that they are dealing with social processes carried out by conscious human beings. Most of them probably should be given credit for knowing also that the empirical ecology of a city is a complex phenomenon and that when they describe a pattern, they are describing just a pattern; not the one and only pattern. If Mr. Firey had done this he would have had a less vicious witch to burn.

Mr. Firey gets himself into a deeper state of confusion by attempting to make a distinction between economic values and social values. Such a dichotomy is worse than useless in dealing with urban ecology. Good auditors know that economic values are a direct reflection of social values. Corporation assets are sometimes valued in terms of original costs, sometimes in terms of replacement costs and sometimes in terms of estimated present sales value. What is present sales value except the money equivalent of the social value of an object to someone other than the present owner? Space, with which Mr. Firey is primarily concerned, has no original cost nor replacement cost. It has only present sales value, in other words, social value. Much is made of the fact that the aura cast by tradition on Beacon Hill and certain other Gold Coast areas in Boston have

held property values much higher than their intrinsic value. The houses on Beacon Hill have intrinsic value, i.e., replacement value, but the lots do not. And what Mr. Firey does not seem to see is that the value of every residential lot is determined by social values whether they are pronounced enough to be called aura or not.

In his study of the ecology of business location Mr. Firey is at his weakest. He criticizes and qualifies the preferential-residue theory of the rationalists but he fails to attack this theory at its core. They and he assume that all business and all residences would be at the point of greatest accessibility if that were possible, the point of greatest accessibility being the convergence of passenger transportation facilities in the downtown business section. Nothing could be farther from the truth. According to the zonal hypothesis, it is precisely those people who could best afford to live close to this location who live farthest from it. Similarly, there are many kinds of business which would not locate on main street if land were free. Accessibility is important in the location of business but, with reference to each kind of business, the question has to be asked, accessibility to whom and to what? Grocery stores need accessibility to residences, filling stations to automobile traffic, and drugstores to residences and pedestrians. Grocery stores handling staple commodities would not locate on main street regardless of rent because they would have scant market there.

Mr. Firey has done a useful job in emphasizing a set of factors which may not have received adequate attention from other ecologists. However, his discovery that urban residences and land plots, like rural, can become family heirlooms, antiques, and shrines which, because of these sentimental attachments, have more value to those sharing these sentiments than to others, will be no surprise to most students of urban ecology. For that matter, certain businesses probably are of the same nature. In calling attention to this set of factors, Mr. Firey has not evolved a new monistic theory of urban ecology. It is doubtful that other theorists considered their theories as monistic as he assumes, but if his overly severe criticism of these writers gets us away from treating ecological theories as if they were monistic, it perhaps will be pardonable. Conceivably the concept social value might be stretched to cover almost everything and thus furnish the basis for a

monistic theory of urban ecology. However, as applied in this study it is doubtful that Mr. Firey has given a more nearly complete empirical explanation of the ecology of Boston than the Chicago writers have of that city. Social values in the form of vested financial interests and of vested political interests, and the way in which economic status affects the accessibility of people by determining the degree to which they can possess or use transportation facilities are some of the factors which he would have to add to get a complete picture.

HARLAN W. GILMORE

Tulane University

NEW FARM HOMES FOR OLD: A STUDY OF RURAL PUBLIC HOUSING IN THE SOUTH. By Rupert B. Vance and Gordon W. Blackwell, with Howard G. McClain collaborating. University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1946. 245 pp. $3.00.

This study presents a well-rounded analysis of the events and problems arising from an attempt to adapt the USHA slum-clearance formula to farm housing needs in four counties in the South. The report is a pioneer effort that will undoubtedly rank as a landmark in the field of rural public housing research.

The United States Housing Act, passed by Congress in 1937, declares it to be the policy of the Federal Government to assist the several states and their political subdivisions in remedying unsafe and unsanitary housing in rural and urban communities. Before the provisions of the Act could be put into operation state laws had to be enacted permitting the creation of local housing authorities with power to develop and operate public housing projects. In the states where such laws were passed, urban centers were more prompt in taking advantage of the measure. However, by the spring of 1940, sixty-five county authorities had been established. In the meantime, the USHA had initiated a small number of experimental rural public housing programs which resulted in the construction of 515 farm dwelling units. The present study gives the results of a field survey in four counties (Darlington in South Carolina, Thomas in Georgia, Lee in Mississippi and Lonoke in Arkansas) in which 385 of the 515 units were located.

The homes, built according to four and five room standardized patterns, were to be occupied by "natural family or cohesive family" groups which were not so large as to make necessary undesirable age-sex sleeping arrangements. In addition, eligible households had to have a net income of not more than five times the rental of the new dwelling or not more than six times the rental if there were three or more minor dependents. Applicants, after being approved by the Farm Security Administration, conveyed one acre of land to the local housing authority which built a house thereon and leased it to the farm owner for a period of one year, renewable from year to year for 60 years, during which time the loan made on the property by the Federal Government, had to be repaid. At the end of the 60 year period the title to the home remains with the local authority to be disposed of at its discretion, subject, of course, to State law.

The farm families housed in the projects sampled were predominantly white of relatively low educational status. They were selected from each of the major rungs of the agricultural ladder, with a median income of $441. Movement from the old homes to the new appeared to have resulted in an improvement in health, less overcrowding, increased home visits and a general feeling of satisfaction with the new accommodations. The occupants were usually prompt in paying their rent, though some among those who realized they were only renting, rather than buying, expressed dissatisfaction with the rental system, preferring something in the way of a purchase plan instead. A few, unfortunately, thought their rental money was actually paying for the dwellings; resulting in final ownership by farm owners. This reflected a failure of education on the part of the local authorities. There was, in fact, considerable uncertainty in both the tenure and efficiency of personnel manning the local authorities. Added to these difficulties were certain unworkable Federal regulations. For one thing, there was a requirement that farm families had to cease participating in the program if their income exceeded a certain level—i.e. move out of the homes in which they lived. Needless to say, this ruling had to be ignored.

The authors give a sympathetic and constructive treatment of the data under consideration and of rural public housing in general. They recognize the definitely experimental nature of the projects thus far undertaken and they give a clear and frank exposition of the issues involved and the problems

that are likely to be encountered, if and when the program studied is reactivated.

VERNON DAVIES
Washington State College

As You Sow. By Walter Goldschmidt. New York: Harcourt Brace & Co. 1947. 288 pp. $4.00.

Ten chapters comprise this small volume. They deal with the place of California Agriculture in American farm life, industrialized farming and the rural community, basic socioeconomic structure, social status and social experience, social status and religious life; cohesion, conflict and control; variations in the social pattern: small farms; variations in the social pattern: large farms; industrialized and urbanized farm people, and social directions. It is the result of a case study of three communities, Wasco, Dinuba, and Arvin, which are populated largely by recent migrants from Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas in addition to Mexicans, Negroes, and a scattering of orientals. The author and his wife spent eight months as participant observers in Wasco and one month each in the other two towns between 1940 and 1944. The title of the book has no particular virtue except brevity so far as the contents are concerned.

The general thesis of the book is that industrialization has changed farming around Wasco from a means of getting a livelihood to one of achieving wealth. Diversification, drudgery, and self-sufficiency have yielded to high cost single cash crop farming in expectation of large profits. This means a need for large groups of farm laborers and large commercial enterprises. The factors responsible for these relationships are characteristic of California and are spreading rapidly to other parts of the United States. Probably mechanization and industrialization in agriculture will inevitably come to dominate the rural scene in America. Yet, it is not impossible to salvage the good of the old rural pattern and to use to advantage what technology has to offer in agriculture. If this happens, new tenure arrangements will appear as they have in California; social differentiation will become more abrupt; social controls will gravitate increasingly toward the employer group and the market place; and conflict situations will tend to duplicate in kind those found in industrial society generally. Apparently, as employer-employee differentiations become more distinct, the unhampered social participation of the employee class becomes increasingly limited

to religious activity so far as institutional behavior is concerned. Even in that case, institutional religion takes on class differentiation in terms of intellectual-emotional appeals, the attachment to religion usually bearing an inverse relation to economic status.

Three fundamental principles must underlie constructive agricultural policies: First, the full utilization of productive capacity to insure the welfare of all the people; second, the preservation of natural resources; and third, the promotion of equity and opportunity for agricultural producers. The promotion of equity requires three legal devices: First, the establishment of minimum wages; second, the establishment of the rights of agricultural workers to organization, collective bargaining, and other rights of organized labor; and third, the extension of social security to agricultural labor. Other recommendations include an adult educational system patterned after the Extension Service, the creation of an employment service to get workers to jobs, the development of community labor pools for farmers, and the establishment of a housing program to fit the needs of workers.

It is "hitting below the belt" for a reviewer to criticise an author adversely beyond the scope of his inquiry. However, it is legitimate to say that this investigation should be extended to the farm family, education, community health, political institutions, housing, recreation, and communication facilities as affected by the industrialization of agriculture. Despite the lavish praise this volume has received by quick reviewers, it leaves one wishing. Unless the influence of the transition from sufficing to industrial agriculture is measured in terms of what happens to the more intimate phases of farm family life, how can one be sure that any proposed agricultural policy will not prove to be only another intellectual abortion?

In other words, the great fault of the book is that it is limited to a few of the more general and superficial aspects of social organization. What has been done has been well done, obviously to the end of laying a foundation for an over-all policy statement for agriculture. The result is a handy volume for the policy maker or the extension "specialist" and good preface for a teacher or a research worker.

OTIS DURANT DUNCAN
Oklahoma Agricultural
and
Mechanical College

SOCIAL PATHOLOGY. By John Lewis Gillin. 3rd. rev. ed. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1947. 645 pp. $4.50.

What is social pathology? What are the objective criteria of social pathology? Is lack of social participation a valid test of personal and social disorganization as suggested by Stuart A. Queen and Jeanette R. Gruener in their text on Social Pathology? Or, is the criterion of social pathology to be found in the inconsistencies within the culture of a group—inconsistencies resulting in conflict between the mores, or between the value-judgments of different groups as stated by W. I. Thomas, Florian Znaniecki, William F. Ogburn, and others? Or, is the basis for social pathology determined by abnormal interactive relationships between human nature and the social order as expressed in Professor L. G. Brown's book, *Social Pathology: Personal and Social Disorganization?*

Dr. John L. Gillin, Professor Emeritus of Sociology, University of Wisconsin, in the third revised edition of this standard textbook, rejects the foregoing criteria, tests, and approaches to social pathology as inadequate and incomplete explanations. Instead Professor Gillin espouses a cultural approach which sets forth a cultural analysis and interpretation of the data of social pathology. However, this approach is eclectic in nature since he believes it broad enough in scope to also include the other approaches (page 5). "This cultural analysis is of prime importance because it integrates into a single whole the essential points of the three previously mentioned analyses. It recognizes the importance of social change, the role of social participation, and the part played by individual peculiarities whether hereditary or social in origin. Further, it shows the part played by sub-groups in the integration or disintegration of culture."

The distinctive characteristic of this text (and primary objective of the author) is that it "attempts to treat social maladjustments in a framework of sociological theory." The justification for this point of departure rests on the fact that since social maladjustments are closely interrelated in everyday life, therefore, they should also be united in sociological theory. A preliminary examination of the contents of this book reveals that the author has achieved his objective with a remarkable degree of success.

In accordance with this objective therefore, the materials are organized under two major heads: Book I, "The Pathology of Personality;" and Book II, "The Pathology of Social Organization." In Book I the emphasis is placed upon the social pathology of an inadequate individual attempting to interact with the culture of his group; Book II reveals the lack of adjustment of the social organization in meeting the needs of personality. Book I embraces nine chapters dealing with such social pathologies as "Sickness," "Blindness and Deafness," "Disablement," "Drug Addiction," "Alcoholism," "Mental Deficiency," "Mental Disorder," "Suicide," and "Personality Disorganization."

Book II, covering the broad field of social disorganization, falls into four parts: Part I, "The Pathology of Domestic Relationships;" Part II, "The Social Pathology of Social Classes and Groups;" Part III, "The Pathology of Economic Relationships;" and Part IV, "The Pathology of Cultural Relationships." Each part contains several chapters.

Part I of Book II sets forth the pathology of selected areas of premarital, marital, family, and postmarital relationships, including important chapters dealing with "The Unmarried," "Widowhood," "Divorce and Desertion," "Dependent and Neglected Childhood," "Childhood and Adolescence," "Unmarried Parenthood," "Immorality and Vice," "Prostitution," "Transiency," and "Old Age."

Part II (four chapters) describes the social pathology of class and group relationships, of urban society, of rural society, and of international relationships. Part III (four chapters) reviews the pathological aspects of the economic system, and points out the elements of social pathology revealed in the problems of poverty and dependency, women and children working, and unemployment. Part IV (four chapters) vividly portrays the pathology of cultural relationships in the fields of religion, moral standards, delinquency and crime, and civil liberties.

The final chapter (Chapter 33) outlines programs for personal and social reconstruction. The reconstruction of the individual (especially the child and adolescent) may be achieved through the operation of the principles of conditioning and reconditioning of personality, and by other methods and techniques known to social psychology. However, the possibilities for personal

adjustment are greatly limited for low grade defectives and for certain neurotic and psychotic types.

The author cites several programs, such as classes for crippled and hard of hearing children, special schools for the blind, special institutions for the mentally defective, child guidance clinics, psychiatric institutes, hospitals for the mentally disturbed, colonies for epileptics, probation and parole for delinquents, foster home placements, and many other devices as evidence of present measures of social reconstruction. However, great changes are necessary in public opinion and public attitudes toward maladjusted persons, toward depressed racial and minority groups, toward the lower economic classes, toward religion, and toward political nationalism before effective social reconstruction can take place. Nevertheless, the author is hopeful that with the aid of social science adjustments can be worked out in many areas of social pathology.

This text is unique in many respects. Each social pathology is supported by a wealth of statistical data bearing upon the extent, trend, and causative factors involved. Furthermore, these data are illustrated by well-selected case histories sandwiched between the factual and theoretical materials of several of the chapters. For instance, the case study of the Joe Grabarski Family, found in Chapter 1, "What is Social Pathology?" illustrates many of the principal pathologies listed throughout the volume. Finally, the deleterious effects of the various pathologies upon personality are graphically portrayed in several of the chapters. (See "Drug Addiction," pp.88–89; also "Prostitution," pp. 348–351).

Social pathology, according to Professor Gillin, embraces a series of interrelated processes dealing with man's individual and social maladjustment. Social pathology is not a study of numerous isolated social ills, but rather is a unified and connected "study of the social patterns and processes involved in man's failure to adjust himself and his institutions to the necessities of existence to the end that he may survive and satisfy the felt needs of his nature" (p. 17).

MORRIS G. CALDWELL

University of Alabama

SOCIAL POLICIES IN THE MAKING. By Paul H. Landis. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1947. 547 pp. $4.00.

Evaluation of a textbook intended for elementary college courses in social problems, social pathology, and the like is a difficult task at best. There is now no clear consensus among sociologists as to the scope, the purpose or the point of view which such widely taught courses (and hence textbooks) should attempt to achieve. Little is gained when a reviewer advances his special social problems potion as a standard for the evaluation of another author's product, unless perchance they both happen to be using the same or closely comparable frames of reference. And yet, how else is one to appraise a book except in terms of his own judgment as to its merits and demerits?

Dean Landis' book, he says, "is dominated by a socio-cultural point of view." He implements his theoretical position through a five-fold division of the materials. Part I, Dynamic Processes in American Society, contains chapters on Cultural Change, Urbanization, Mobility, Primary to Secondary Groups, and Secularization. It purports to orient the student to "the factors of social causation" so far as they "seem to be most immediately connected with maladjustments in current society." Considering the limitations necessarily imposed by the immaturity of the lower division student, this objective seems reasonably well attained in terms of traditional sociological concepts. Part II, Personal Adjustment to a Complex Society, contains chapters on Personality in a Transitional Society, The Personal Causality of Social Complexity, The Marginal Man, The Youthful Delinquent, The Criminal, and The Man of Dark Skin. The logic of placing some of these chapters, especially on race and marginality, in a category of "*personal* adjustment" may seem to some teachers to be difficult to justify. Of course, the personal-social dichotomy is almost always a difficult one to justify fully. Part III The Family-Social Systems of our Transitional Society, is divided into chapters on Institutional to Companionship Family, The Small Family Pattern of the Companionship Family, Sex in the Romantic Family Social System, The Child in the Companionship Family, The Transition of Adolescents and Youth to Maturity in the Companionship Family, The Aged in the Companionship Family, and Divorce in the Companionship Family. Part IV, Problems of the Politico-Economic System, is discussed under three chapter headings, Management of the Economy, Balancing Class Interests, and Providing Economic Security.

The final part, Social Policies in the Making, treats The Conservation of Natural Resources, Population in World Relations, Seeking Greater Control of the Birth Rate, The Quest for Longevity, and Improving Education as an Agency of Adjustment. The obvious eclecticism of this last part will be at once apparent and there will doubtless be those who will judge the book somewhat severely on this score. The text is supplemented with 25 photographs, 69 graphs and 42 tables. There are author and subject indexes, apparently of ample detail and logical arrangement.

The book seems to have several merits. The style is simple, direct and lucid. The concepts used are relatively few and there is unusual freedom from needless and confusing academic jargon. The coverage of the vast subject matter area with which a book of this sort is necessarily concerned, seems to be defensible. Study aids are numerous and the book has an attractive "feel."

On the negative side, it seems that there will be numerous sociologists who will be disquieted by several aspects of Landis' book as a teaching tool. First, the reader gets little feeling for the ideological context of social problems definition and treatment, little awareness of the sharp and vital value clashes within which social problems and social policies have their being. It would seem that a book which claims a "socio-cultural" approach should emphasize ideological factors much more than this one does. There are *many* value positions regarding almost any social problem, and the student should, it seems, be made more aware of this fact if he is to be realistic about his social world. Second, the avoidance of definition-making may have been overdone. For example, Chapter XX, dealing with social class, contains no definition of social class, nor does the index indicate that the term is anywhere defined. Certainly this important topic warrants a more precise treatment and its key concept deserves a precise formulation. Third, simplification may be overdone when the chapter on "class interests" is handled solely in terms of the struggle of organized labor with capital-management. There is much, much more to "balancing class interests" than this! Fourth, and this may be very minor, several of the photos seem either forced or inimical to good understanding. For example, the almost full-page illustration of Michigan's Angell Hall seems hardly necessary, or particularly useful, to demonstrate

the caption that "Education is a key to progress in democratic society"—not even to an alumnus of said institution. Further, the United States Treasury Department's poster defining "security" for a young couple and a child in terms of ownership of a suburban single family dwelling may lead to the perpetuation of archaic and malfunctional housing ideas among many low-income, urban, Americans. The sound pedagogical use of photographs is a skill which very few college textbook writers have demonstrated effectively.

On the whole this book is a reasonably complete, unpretentious and graphic description of a number of aspects of American life. The study of it ought to give the freshmen and sophomores for whom it is intended some better-than-common-sense information, and possibly even some insight, into some of the social problems and social policies of their age.

JOHN F. CUBER

The Ohio State University

INTRODUCTORY SOCIOLOGY. By Raymond W. Murray. 2nd ed. New York: F. S. Crofts and Company, 1946. 990 pp. $4.50.

For over a decade Catholic sociologists in America have been laboring diligently and constructively to synthesize Catholic social principles and scientific sociological knowledge. In many ways, Professor Murray's new textbook is a product of this decade of progress in the direction of such a synthesis. Building upon Monsignor William J. Kerby's general approach to the study of human society, Father Murray attempts to survey the entire field of sociology, emphasizing especially the relationship of Catholic principles and the following: the nature, development and objectives of sociology generally; the influence of man's biological heritage upon group life and relationships; the pertinent relations of cultural change and socio-anthropological facts to the understanding of present-day human relations; the importance of human nature and personality development in explaining the interrelationships of individuals and groups; the laws and processes of human interaction and the nature and importance of social control in these spheres of human contact; the nature of community life and the influence of spatial relationships, population growth and mobility, and changing social trends upon community problems and planning; the physical, cultural and spiritual needs of man and

the socio-historical role which institutions have played in meeting these needs; and the social, economic, moral, and cultural problems arising out of human contact or associations and suggestions for treating and preventing these problems.

In many respects this text offers as clear and concise a presentation of sociological laws and principles as can be found in any current textbook in the field. For example, Murray defines assimilation as that "process whereby individuals or groups representing different cultures are merged into a homogeneous unit." Elsewhere, in discussing amalgamation, he says, "The merging of different races or sub-races by intermarriage or miscegenation is known as amalgamation. It is both a cause and an effect of assimilation."

Besides the clear and readable style, the careful and logical synthesis of principles and facts, the book has an unusually valuable practical and common-sense outlook; especially is this true when examined from a socio-moral or religious point of view. Some of the other commendable features of the text include its realistic approach in terms of the student viewpoint and the necessary orientation to the field of sociology itself. In this regard the student gets a general feeling that sociology is directly related to himself as he seeks to adjust socially; the reader becomes conversant with (but not over-burdened by) the leading social thinkers who have made sociology the discipline that it is; the student comes to see and to know the fields of sociology in their respective relationships to the past, the present, and (to some extent) the future; but even better he comes to see the fields of sociology in their relationships with the varying social phenomena which are commonly accepted as the subject matter of the science itself as differentiated from that of other social sciences.

Some may react unfavorably to the encyclopedic nature of the text, but since this is the trend of modern textbooks in sociology and since the author has purposefully designed his book after this pattern, it is adaptable for a one or two semester course. If we assume that sociology is what the leading students in the field say it is as well as what is being taught as sociology (which seems to be the underlying assumption of the author), the text becomes a useful tool for teachers and students alike.

MELVIN J. WILLIAMS

Florida State University

THE HUMAN FRONTIER. By Roger J. Williams. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1946. 313 pp. $3.00.

Professor Roger J. Williams is a great biochemist. He has won an enviable reputation in that field. *The Human Frontier* is in the area of the social sciences.

Like many others, Professor Williams is concerned over the compartmentalization of science. Unlike many others, he is determined to do something about it. He has. But whether the net effect of his efforts will be to bring social and biological science closer together or to widen the gap between them is yet to be determined. It is entirely likely that social scientists may conclude that if *The Human Frontier* is a good example of what biologists have to contribute, they may be better off without aid from that quarter.

It is perhaps inevitable that a scientist entering a new field should see through his old conceptual spectacles. Trained in biology, Professor Williams sees human personality and social interaction as reflections of physiology and metabolism and neglects social factors to an extent which dismays those trained in the social sciences. For instance, he blandly asserts that given the hypothetical case of two persons with identical bodily structures we would have identical metabolism and "duplicate individuals without individual differences" (p. 22). This tempts one to inquire as to what is the bodily structure and metabolic rate which creates a Republican, a Baptist, a school teacher, a racketeer? Such a statement also leads to a very definite suspicion that Dr. Williams is entirely innocent of the concept of culture, which is fairly basic to the social sciences.

This same biological bias appears in his discussion of the heredity-environment argument, when he argues that children of English parents, reared in Chinese culture and then placed on an isolated island would, within a few generations, modify their Chinese culture "so as to fit better the physiological and psychological traits of the English-born people" (p. 260).

On the basis of this sort of reasoning, Professor Williams proposes to found a new science of "Humanics." This is essential, he thinks, for two reasons. First there is now no science of human beings. Second, the people who have attempted to study human behavior have become deluded by statistical measures and have chased an imaginary character known as "man-in-the-

abstract" when they should have been working on individual men. Continually, he pleads for a science of the *individual*, accepting the fundamental postulate that "human beings are in a practical sense free agents" (p. 17). But science is based on the idea that the units studied behave similarly under like conditions—are *not* "free agents"—and science proceeds by classification—by computing averages which are not accurate descriptions of any individual unit, but are truly descriptive of all units.

It would be easy to point out other errors in this book. On the credit side, it must be said that there *is* need for a closer correlation between the various sciences concerned with mankind and particularly between biology and the social sciences. Physiology and metabolism are important factors in the formation of personality, as Dr. Williams demonstrates in his discussion of peripheral vision and in other places. If what he has written should result in closer collaboration of men well trained in all of these sciences, it will have made a very valuable contribution. It is, perhaps, his greatest error that he did not secure such collaboration in the production of this book. For, as he says, (pp. 166–7) "It is too much to expect that a natural scientist who continuously delves into the intricacies of cell physiology should at the same time be an expert in fields pertaining to human relations."

HARRY ESTILL MOORE
University of Texas

PATRIOTISM OR PEACE. By Adam De Hegedus. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947. 266 pp. $3.00.

The general theme of this book is that nationalism is the root of all evil, and that as long as the spirit of nationalism dominates the world, peace is impossible. The theme is not a very new one, but nevertheless there is some value in its constant repetition especially since, in my opinion, a good deal of what is going on in the international scene uses the old myths of nationalism and the old techniques of power politics. Having said this, I have said almost as much as can be said about this book. The author, who according to the jacket decided to write a book, is a "brilliant young writer." The book itself, however, is not too brilliant and as a matter of fact seems to state the surface phenomena of nationalism. The diagnosis is not too acute, and the author frequently misses the point which is ultimately the psychological

problem of the effect of nationalistic ideology on the behavior patterns of individuals. A good deal of the book is a statement of obvious facts, for example, that during wars governments go in for a good deal of propaganda, that the Jewish problem is a problem of national minorities, that educational systems in each nation tend to develop a national spirit and other comments of similar nature. Perhaps the most important element which the author brings out is the recognition of the fact that one of the difficulties of the modern scene is that socialism has lost its international character and has taken on a very definite nationalistic form. It is the reviewer's opinion that a significant study of the whole concept of nationalism still remains to be made. It is also his opinion that someone ought to do a careful study on the meanings and confusions which are now inherent in the term socialism.

L. O. KATTSOFF
University of North Carolina

UNDERSTANDING SOCIETY: THE PRINCIPLES OF DYNAMIC SOCIOLOGY. By Howard W. Odum. New York: Macmillan, 1947. 749 pp. $5.00.

In the reviewer's opinion this is the most exciting new departure in the way of a textbook in general sociology that has appeared in this country in a decade. It is unique in a considerable portion of its content, in its approach to the subject, in its spirit, its objectives, and its pedagogical devices and procedures.

Odum's special contributions to sociology, such as his analyses of regions and regionalism, his sociological interpretations of the nature and significance of and the social problems occasioned by technology, the illuminating concepts of technicways and stateways as against folkways, the concept of folk and folk culture, and the analysis of folk-regional society and state society, are woven into the very fabric of the book. Sociology cannot omit these; they are permanent conceptualizations and clarifications that must be viewed as an integral part of it henceforth.

Throughout every chapter one notes the main objective of the book, and incidentally, a viewpoint which has been inherent in all of Odum's activities for over a quarter of a century. This is the necessity of combining sound theory and the practical study of society. An adequate sociology must not only attempt to explain the origin, development, structure, and functioning of society in its multiple forms, and provide adequate il-

lustrations and examples of all these forms; it must also "be able to come to grips with the living realities of modern society and its manifestations wherever found" (p. 19). The book makes sociology one of man's supreme enterprises in social construction; it never drops to a mere routine analysis; the facts and principles and techniques only have significance as they contribute to the well-being of society today and tomorrow. Though sternly scientific the book is at the same time permeated with a constructive spirit, an idealistic overtone, and a sense of mission that is inspiring and contagious. One experiences a mounting enthusiasm for sociology as a scientific aid of vast importance in doing the world's work.

The standard elements of sociology as it stands today, such as geographic and biological foundations, population, culture, social interaction, collective behavior, social organization, social change, social process and control, are presented somewhere in the book, though only rarely under the conventional rubrics. The following are some of the special features of the analytical, theoretical treatment in the reviewer's opinion: the presentation of the ecological features and the regional foundations of society (chapters 4 and 5); the nature and importance of the "folk" (chapter 7); the rather unique treatment of work (chapter 10); the basic importance of rural life in any culture (chapter 11); the analysis of folkways, technicways, and stateways (chapter 12); the clear-cut distinction between culture and civilization and the special presentation of the characteristics of civilization—state society, urban, technological, intellectual, concentration of power, artificial (chapters 14 and 15); the sociological treatment of industry (chapter 18); the individual, his uniqueness, and his relation to society (chapters 23–26); the dilemmas of technological civilization (chapter 29); the treatment of processes under problems (chapter 30); democracy and equality (chapter 32); the treatment of class, caste, and race (chapter 34); the examination of social planning (chapter 36) with a most revealing schematic presentation (pp. 656–658); and, finally, the emphasis upon "balance" throughout the work—balance of man and his physical setting in its natural and artificed aspects, balance of men with each other, balance of man and culture, balance of region and region, balanced individuals in a balanced society, including the world society.

Another notable feature of the book is the systematic instructional framework and procedure provided for. Each chapter consists, first, of the text materials arranged with numerous headings. In passing it might be noted that there are no footnotes, even for quotations. In many chapters, after presenting the general nature of the subject, its significance is brought to the student's own doorstep by means of a section specifically applying the points to the United States.

Then follows the second portion, and one of the unique features of the book, often equal in volume to the textual portion, namely, "The Library and Workshop." In most chapters this involves first a division on "Definitions and Examples," followed by "Assignments and Questions." Next come "Special Readings from the Library" based in almost every chapter upon Groves and Moore, *An Introduction to Sociology*, Linton's *The Study of Man*, Lundberg's *Foundations of Sociology*, Lewis Mumford's *Culture of Cities* and *Technics and Civilization*, Odum's *American Social Problems*, Odum and Moore's *American Regionalism*, Ogburn and Nimkoff's *Sociology*, Panunzio's *Major Social Institutions*, Summer's *Folkways*, and *Recent Social Trends*, with occasional exceptions and additions. Each of the thirty-eight chapters also has a list of "General Readings from the Library" appropriate to the special subject matter of the chapter. The book is rich in bibliographical materials.

Most chapters conclude with a final test of proficiency and ability to understand and apply the materials under the heading: "In the Workshop: Social Process, Social Action, Social Organization." This takes the form of questions that require wide range in thinking and investigation. The book is enriched by some 65 maps and charts and 109 photographs.

If time, administration, competence of staff, and library and physical facilities permit full use of these "workshop" features, sociology students will have an opportunity to learn "by doing" as few instructional procedures in sociology have been able to provide heretofore. That this will be exceedingly difficult in courses having 500–1000 students goes without saying.

This is not an elementary book in sociology; it is profound and erudite and vast in range. To profit by it the reader should have intellectual maturity to appreciate its philosophic implications, a considerable breadth of knowledge to utilize its wide sweep among the pure and applied sciences, even a substantial orientation in sociological facts, concepts, and fields, in order to grasp the full

import of the new sociological directions and materials presented, and an ability to select or underscore what are definitions and statements of major principles (in spite of section headings and other special designations) among more abstract and expository materials. If used as a textbook (while all the essential materials are in the book), it will take well-informed, well-oriented, and capable and experienced instructors to (1) clearly bring out the principle in each case; (2) elaborate and interpret the principle, and (3) illustrate and apply the principle.

The reviewer is of the opinion, therefore, that, keeping in mind also the "workshop" difficulties mentioned above, it might not be entirely workable as an introductory text. In the beginning course, students may range from freshmen to seniors, and instructors from teaching assistants with one year of graduate work to professors with a quarter of a century or more of rich teaching and investigational experience. However, it does seem to be a "natural" as a "core" book for a summarizing and testing course in the nature, content, function, relations, and contemporary sweep of sociology for majors in their senior year.

These latter remarks should not in any way be considered criticisms of the book, or obscure the fact that it is a "must" book for students of sociology regardless of their vintage.

J. O. HERTZLER

University of Nebraska

BRIEFER COMMENT

HOSPITAL RESOURCES AND NEEDS. Report of the Michigan Hospital Survey. Battle Creek, Michigan: The W. K. Kellogg Foundation; 1946. 172 pp. (paper).

The survey of Michigan Hospital resources and needs was part of a larger undertaking, a national study of the American Hospital Association. The Michigan study, supported by Kellogg, Commonwealth and National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis grants, was designed to explore the resources of hospital, public health center facilities and personnel, collect demographic data bearing on the need for hospital service, and to draft a plan "which would provide an adequate system of coordinating hospital and public health facilities serving all parts of the state."

In addition to the strictly medical elements, there is much in this report of interest to the social

science fraternity—suggesting ways in which they can play increasingly important roles in studies and planning of medical services—in terms of population, social, economic and geographic factors. The study fulfills admirably the objectives for which it was designed. Its data and tables are more useful and exacting than in any other statewide report studied by this reviewer. If implemented, this report will be a landmark in medical facility planning.

J. H.

OUTLINE OF AMERICAN RURAL SOCIOLOGY. By Carle C. Zimmerman. Cambridge, Mass.: The Phillips Book Store. 55 pp. $1.75.

This is not a rural sociology text book. It is a mimeographed copy of notes used by Dr. Zimmerman in teaching a course which deals with the main historical-causal sequences of American rural life with an excellent bibliography of suggested readings. The outline and readings cover the European origins of American agrarian and social forms, their transplantation and enlargement in North America, their development in the new environment, the unique role they have played in the critical decisions of American history and the chief developments inherent for North American continental agrarianism and rural life of the future. The main hypotheses of American rural sociology are outlined for the guidance of the reader. This is a preliminary outline for limited circulation. It contains a large number of interesting ideas, hypotheses, and theories and a valuable bibliography ranging from European backgrounds to price parity.

Students of rural sociology, rural economics, and students of the history of rural life in America will find this outline highly valuable.

S. H. H., JR.

YOUTH IN TROUBLE. By Austin L. Porterfield. Fort Worth: The Leo Potishman Foundation, 1946. 135 pp. $1.50.

A study of 1500 cases of children handled presumably in the Fort Worth Juvenile Court during the years 1931, 1933, and 1935, led the author to conclude that "no small part of the conflict with youth grows out of the peevishness, impatience, irresponsibility, and, in many cases, the criminalistic attitudes of the complainant," frequently the child's own parents.

In Chapter II there is presented a series of tables comparing offenses for which 2,049 alleged

delinquents in the Fort Worth area were brought to court, with the behavior of 337 college students (200 men, 137 women) alleged not to be delinquents in three schools in northern Texas. All the college students admitted commission of one or more of 55 specific offenses for which children were brought to juvenile courts. "A well-adjusted ministerial student said he had indulged in twenty-seven of the fifty-five offenses; and a successful pastor, also a student, reported committing twenty-eight of the delinquencies...." Past delinquency among these college students was universal.

Three detailed case studies present most effectively society's antiquated methods of dealing with youth in trouble.

Coordinating councils are suggested as one approach to treatment of delinquents.

W. B. S.

PSYCHOANALYZE YOURSELF. By E. Pickworth Farrow. Foreword by Sigmund Freud. New York: International Universities Press, 1945. 157 pp. $2.00.

An intensely interesting new type of autobiography, the record of an unusually objective-minded person's attempt to travel within his own subconscious and draw from it the self-understanding needed for improvement of physical and mental health. Freud writes of the author that he is "a man of strong and independent intelligence who on account of a certain wilfulness of character" didn't get on well with two analysts and therefore undertook to analyze himself by the same method Freud had used in getting at the meaning of his own dreams. The author by writing out for an hour day by day his free associations and then critically examining his recordings through conscious thought believes that he found the causation of fears and worries, some of which originated in infancy as early as when he was six months old. The reviewer is convinced as is Dr. Farrow that the basic source of childhood repressions, which influence if they do not cause the neurosis, are frustrations of self-preservation expressed in fear. His very interesting criticism of the two analysts to whom he went for help seems well-founded.

E. R. G.

THE VETERAN AND HIS MARRIAGE. By John H. Mariano. New York: Council on Marriage Relations, 1945. 303 pp. $2.75.

War disturbs social life and domestic relations most of all. The past war, the greatest of all wars in its magnitude and influence, naturally has affected marriage and family experience beyond anything that has happened in the past. *The Veteran and His Marriage* is written to help members of the armed forces who in one way or another are having domestic trouble. The book is especially directed to personnel managers in industry, since domestic disorganization is proving to be the chief cause of labor turnover. The book not only discusses the chief problems the veterans are encountering in their married life, the common causes of these, but also gives considerable space to the various legal facts that veterans need to know. This is the distinctive part of the book. Nowhere else in so popular form has been gathered so much information concerning such matters as fraud in marriage, misconduct, family interference, alimony, counsel fees, the annulment of a marriage, desertion and the like. The book contains an illuminating chart giving the conditions necessary to get a divorce in the forty-eight states of the union.

E. R. G.

EMOTION AND CONDUCT IN ADOLESCENCE. By Caroline B. Zachry. New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1940. 563 pp. $3.25.

Emotion and Conduct in Adolescence is a critical study of the needs of adolescents in present day American life and is directed to high school and college teachers, guidance workers and other specialists. It is a product of the Commission on Secondary School Curriculum of the Progressive Education Association. The study is organized to emphasize three aspects of the major problems, changing attitudes to the self, changing personal relationships, changing attitudes to basic social institutions. Scattered through the volume are illustrations abstracted from life histories of boys and girls. The spirit of the book appears in its final statement that the individual who has worked out in some measure of satisfaction the basic adjustments he has had to make during adolescence can be expected to possess the attitudes needed for creative participation in his adult vocational career as well as in his social relationships.

E. R. G.

ADOLESCENTS IN WARTIME. Edited by James S. H. Bossard and Eleanor S. Boll. Philadelphia: The

American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1944. 233 pp. $1.50 (Members), $2.50 (Non-Members), cloth; $1.00 (Members), $1.50 (Non-Members), paper.

This volume of the *Annals* will generally be received as the most significant discussion of the effect of World War II on American adolescents. It covers a wide range, each article by a specialist who is professionally familiar with the problems of young people along the line of his interest. The introductory discussion by James S. Plant on "The Social Significance of War Impact on Adolescents" gives in brief space as significant a diagnosis of the present confusion of American adolescents as has yet been written. Our young people are struggling with two ever-present crises in the development of the individual, the wise adjustment between his motives for dependence and independence and his need for finding and maintaining values that are in accord with rational living. The various articles deal with five major topics: background, social and family setting, wartime employment, health and hygiene, and selected problems concerning recreation, religion, and government. This book is indispensable to the student of family life.

E. R. G.

PERSONAL PROBLEMS OF THE HIGH SCHOOL GIRL. By Frances S. Miller and Helen H. Laitem. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1945. 433 pp. $2.50.

Personal Problems of the High School Girl seeks to bring together in one volume useful information for the girl who cannot take more than one course in home economics. It provides a great quantity of useful information that should appeal to the teen-age girl and also a great many suggestions for self-improvement. Its style, diction, organization, and illustration are well adapted to the reader for whom the book has been written.

E. R. G.

ADOLESCENCE AND YOUTH. By Paul H. Landis. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1945. 470 pp. $3.75.

Adolescence and Youth is a description of the growing-up process written for teen-age boys and girls rather than for adults. It seeks to give the young person the understanding that will help him through his adolescence and enable him to establish the basis for a happy, successful adult life. Part I deals with the composition of the

personality, Part II with what is regarded as the individual's proper goal, moral maturity, Part III with his transition to marital adulthood, Part IV, his economic self maintenance and Part V with his school experience. The book provides its reader with opportunity for the gaining of the knowledge of himself and understanding of social conditions that will aid his making a safe passage into adulthood.

E. R. G.

CAREER OPPORTUNITIES. Edited by Mark Morris. Washington, D. C.: Progress Press, 1946. 345 pp. $3.25.

This book should prove helpful to veterans who are undecided as to their choice of a vocation and to the host of high school and college students who are attempting to decide what type of work they will follow once their formal schooling is completed.

About one hundred occupations are analyzed. The fields included are those which have (1) substantial postwar possibilities, (2) constitute an integral part of the nation's economy, and (3) offer special advantages to veterans. Each occupational brief is simply written supplying the reader with practical, up-to-date, authoritative information about the actual work entailed, necessary qualifications, earning possibilities, and the future outlook of the individual job. Occupations in industry, business, agriculture, engineering, the physical and natural sciences, medicine, the social sciences, modern art, education, and religion are represented.

The book is particularly timely and is a type sorely needed in the relatively new field of vocational counseling.

R. M. R.

THE PROBLEM OF FERTILITY. Proceedings of the Conference on Fertility Held under the Auspices of the National Committee on Maternal Health. Edited by Earl T. Engle. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946. 254 pp. $3.75.

This book is made up of the papers which were read at the Conference and the discussions of them. "The purpose of this Conference was to reveal the successes of investigations on the processes of reproduction in domestic animals. The results of these investigations are of utmost importance and practical value in themselves. They should also serve to reactivate investigations

on the induction of ovulation in woman and to encourage further detailed investigations in the biology of human spermatozoa" (p. v).

Chapters of special interest to those concerned with human reproduction are, "The Ovary at the Time of Ovulation," by George W. Corner; "Hormonal Control of Ovulation," by H. H. Cole; "Cervical Mucus and the Menstrual Cycle," by W. T. Pommerenke and Ellenmae Viergiver; "Spermatozoa and Cervical Mucus," by A. R. Abarbanel; "Metabolism and Motility of Human Spermatozoa," by John MacLeod; and "The Cervix Uteri in Sterile Matings," by Fred A. Simmons.

<div style="text-align: right">D. S. K.</div>

As WE WERE. Family Life in America, 1850–1900, in Pictures and Text. By Bellamy Partridge and Otto Bettmann. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1946. 184 pp. $4.50.

As We Were is an altogether satisfactory descriptive story of American life in the second half of the nineteenth century. The text was written by Bellamy Partridge, author of *Country Lawyer*, and the pictures, three hundred in all, were selected by Dr. Bettmann.

The book, in addition to being very interesting provides valuable supplementary material for the social study of the period.

<div style="text-align: right">D. S. K.</div>

THE SOUTH AMERICAN HANDBOOK. 1946 edition. Edited by Howell Davies. London: Trade and Travel Publications, Ltd., 1946. 810 pp. $1.25.

This standard British ready-reference work for businessmen and travellers, in its first postwar edition, is still probably the best and handiest publication of its kind. It is perhaps too much to expect the busy editor of a publication of this sort to provide an over-all review of developments in the area during the past year, although a relatively short article along such lines would add considerably to the value and the timeliness of the volume.

<div style="text-align: right">J. G.</div>

A CHAPTER ON POPULATION SAMPLING. By the Sampling Staff, Bureau of the Census. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947. 141 pp. $1.00.

This monograph does not deal with the various sampling procedures used by the Bureau of the Census, but only with a special type of problem. It describes "a method for sampling blocks and subsampling households from the sample blocks, along with the appropriate sampling theory for attaining the maximum precision in the population count for a given allowable cost.... The same theory and some of the decisions affecting practice as outlined here are applicable to other types of problems in which there is sampling and subsampling". Though too technical to be of wide general interest, this monograph is basic for those who are interested in sampling.

<div style="text-align: right">D. O. P.</div>

FINANCING GOVERNMENT. By Harold M. Groves. Revised Edition. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1945. 653 pp. $4.00.

The original edition of this widely used college text was published in 1939. The present edition has all of the virtues of the old and many improvements as well. All chapters have been reworked and modernized to take cognizance of the fiscal changes of the war years and the proposals for the postwar era. The three income chapters have been rewritten to include expositions of tax withholding, the war excess profits tax, and the controversy over the future of the corporation income tax. Other new material covers the effect of income tax exemptions on the breadth of the income tax base, death tax loopholes, and recent developments in the field of intergovernmental fiscal relations. The chapter on fiscal policy has been rewritten in the light of the special economic problems of the postwar period.

Those who have used Professor Groves' text in the past will find in this revised edition no basis for changing their estimate of its high standard of excellence.

<div style="text-align: right">C. H.</div>

THE NEW POLAND. By Irving Brant. New York: Universe Publishers, 1946. 116 pp. $1.50.

This is a series of twenty-four journalistic essays—most of which previously appeared in *The Chicago Sun*—on the post-war political, economic, and, to an extent, social circumstances of Poland. While interesting, the articles are not acute and give little more than surface impressions. In the maze of claims and counter-claims the author supports the radical cause in Poland but does not always convince that his views are not predilections. The book is an excellent example of all that is meant by the term "ephemeral."

<div style="text-align: right">J. L. G.</div>

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC OPINION IN MANCHESTER, 1780–1820. By Leon Soutierre Marshall. Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1946. 274 pp. $2.50.

The subject of this monograph is the impact of the new industrial system and society upon the English city of Manchester during the formative phase of the Industrial Revolution. Relying upon local records, the author has written an account that supplements the larger and well-known story of the Industrial Revolution in England as a whole. It is this narrowed focus that gives the present work such value as it has.

Perhaps the most worthwhile section of the book is on the rise of Liberalism in Manchester. Here the subject is relieved of the abstract thought that so frequently accompanies a broader treatment and emerges as the intellectual and emotional accompaniment of the struggle between the vested and the aspiring interests of the town. Not without interest, however, are the subjects of the influence of the mounting industrialism upon local government as Manchester is transformed from a market town to a manufacturing city and the development, though often obscure, of a "public opinion" more in keeping with the new circumstances.

Unfortunately for a book that might have had a respectable reception, the work is all but submerged by an embarrassing number of errors, mostly printer's, and an unattractive format. The author's style, often heavy and lacking in clarity, leaves the reader to make his way with difficulty through a complex narrative and fails to reveal material that might have sparkled under greater care.

J. L. G.

NEW BOOKS RECEIVED

THE AGE OF ANXIETY. A BAROQUE ECLOGUE. By W. H. Auden. New York: Random House, 1946, 1947. 138 pp. $2.50.

RUBBER POLICIES OF THE NATIONAL DEFENSE ADVISORY COMMISSION AND THE OFFICE OF PRODUCTION MANAGEMENT, MAY 1940 TO DECEMBER 1941. By George W. Auxier. Historical Reports on War Administration: War Production Board, Special Study No. 28. Washington, D. C. U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947. 103 pp.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOVIET ECONOMIC SYSTEM. AN ESSAY ON THE EXPERIENCE OF PLANNING IN THE U.S.S.R. By Alexander Baykov. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947. 514 pp. $6.00.

SOVIET FOREIGN TRADE. By Alexander Baykov. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1946 100 pp. $2.00.

THE BEGINNINGS OF OPA. HISTORICAL REPORTS ON WAR ADMINISTRATION, OFFICE OF TEMPORARY CONTROLS, OFFICE OF PRICE ADMINISTRATION, GENERAL PUBLICATION NO. 1. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947. 246 pp. $0.50.

HUMAN BREEDING AND SURVIVAL. POPULATION ROADS TO PEACE OR WAR. By Guy Irving Burch and Elmer Pendell. New York: Penguin Books, Inc., 1947. 138 pp. $0.25.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY. A CRITICAL ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY. Compiled by P. S. de Q. Cabot. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1946. 166 pp.

WARTIME APPAREL PRICE CONTROL. By Wilfred Carsel. Historical Reports on War Administration, Office of Temporary Controls, Office of Price Administration, General Publication No. 3. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947. 201 pp. $0.40 (paper).

SHIPBUILDING POLICIES OF THE WAR PRODUCTION BOARD, JANUARY 1942 TO NOVEMBER 1945. By William Chalkin and Charles H. Coleman. (Historical Reports on War Administration: War Production Board, Special Study No. 26). Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947. 207 pp.

AND YOUR NEIGHBOR. THE SOCIAL PRINCIPLES OF JESUS AND LIFE PROBLEMS. By Edwin Leavitt Clarke. New York: Association Press, 1947. 85 pp. $0.50 (paper).

THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR ON THE JOB, IN A MEMBERSHIP ORGANIZATION—THE YWCA. By Margaret Logan Clark and Briseis Teall. New York: The Woman's Press, 1947. 128 pp. $2.75.

THE UNITED STATES. EXPERIMENT IN DEMOCRACY. By Avery Craven and Walter Johnson. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1947. 886 pp. $5.00.

FIELD SONGS OF CHHATTISGARH. By S. C. Dube. (Folk-Culture Series No. 2. Lucknow: The Universal Publishers Ltd., 1947. 95 pp. Rs. 3–12.

TO THE BITTER END. By Hans Bernd Gisevius. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947. 632 pp. $4.00.

AS YOU SOW. By Walter Goldschmidt. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1947. 288 pp. $4.00.

GUIDE FOR LECTURERS AND TEACHERS. April 1947. Obtainable from the Section for Lecture Services and Educational Liaison, Department of Public Information, United Nations.

INCOMES AND EXPENDITURES OF WAGE EARNERS IN

PUERTO RICO. By Alice C. Hanson and Manuel A. Perez. Bulletin No. 1, Government of Puerto Rico Department of Labor in cooperation with the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. May 1, 1947. 152 pp.

RACIAL DIFFERENCES AND HUMAN RESEMBLANCES. By Douglas G. Haring. Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Book Store, 1947. 24 pp. $0.40. (2 copies)

TAKE THIS WOMAN. By Lindsay Hayes. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947. 308 pp. $3.00.

MAX WEBER: THE THEORY OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION. Tr. by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons. New York: Oxford University Press, 1947. 436 pp. $6.00.

NORTH CAROLINA TODAY. By S. H. Hobbs, Jr. and Marjorie N. Bond. Chapel Hill, N. C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1947. 420 pp. $2.30.

IMPORT POLICIES AND PROGRAMS OF THE WAR PRODUCTION BOARD AND PREDECESSOR AGENCIES, MAY 1940 TO NOVEMBER 1945. By David Horton. (Historical Reports on War Administration: War Production Board, Special Study No. 30). Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947. 253 pp.

IMMIGRATION AND POPULATION POLICY. New York: National Committee on Immigration Policy, 1947. 56 pp. $0.25 (paper).

INTERTERRITORIAL FREIGHT RATES. *Law and Contemporary Problems*, Vol. XII, No. 3 (Summer, 1947). Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1947. $1.00 (Subscription Price, $3.00 per volume).

THE CO-OPERATIVE PROCESS AMONG NATIONAL SOCIAL AGENCIES. By Ray Johns. New York: Association Press, 1946. 290 pp. $3.00.

REQUIREMENTS FOR STATE SOCIAL WORK POSITIONS IN THE SOUTH. By Gladys M. Kammerer. Lexington, Kentucky: Bureau of Government Research, 1947. 63 pp.

A HISTORY OF RATION BANKING. By Joseph Alexander Kershaw. Historical Reports on War Administration, Office of Temporary Controls, Office of Price Administration, General Publication No. 2. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947. 150 pp. $0.35 (paper).

THE COMMUNITY IN AMERICAN SOCIETY. By John A. Kinneman. New York: F. S. Crofts & Company, Inc., 1947. 450 pp. $3.75.

COPPER POLICIES OF THE WAR PRODUCTION BOARD AND PREDECESSOR AGENCIES, MAY 1940 TO NOVEMBER 1945. By George R. Kinzie. (Historical Reports on War Administration: War Production Board, Special Study No. 29). Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947. 198 pp.

MANAGING YOUR MIND. YOU CAN CHANGE HUMAN NATURE. By S. H. Kraines and E. S. Thetford.

New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947. 374 pp. $2.75 (reissue).

THE MANY AND THE FEW. A CHRONICLE OF THE DYNAMIC AUTO WORKERS. By Henry Kraus. Los Angeles: The Plantin Press, 1947. 293 pp. $2.50.

A TRANSFORMACAO DA LOGICA CONCEITUAL DA SOCIOLOGIA. BASES PARA UMA REESTRUTURACAO DA SISTEMATICA SOCIOLOGICA. By Mario Lins. Rio de Janeiro: Journal do Commercio, 1947. 127 pp.

ADOPTING A CHILD. By Frances Lockridge. New York: Greenberg, Publisher, 1947. 216 pp. $3.00.

THE POLICE AND MINORITY GROUPS. A MANUAL PREPARED FOR USE IN THE CHICAGO PARK DISTRICT POLICE TRAINING SCHOOL. Prepared by Joseph D. Lohman and others. Chicago: Chicago Park District, 1947. 133 pp. $2.00.

NILES' WEEKLY REGISTER. NEWS MAGAZINE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By Norval Neil Luxon. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1947. 337 pp. $5.00.

THE MATRIX OF INDIAN CULTURE (Sri Mahadeo Hari Wathodkar Foundation Lectures, Nagpur University, 1946). By D. N. Majumdar. Lucknow: The Universal Publishers Ltd., 1947. 242 pp. Rs. 8/8.

SNOW BALLS OF GARHWAL. (Folk-Culture Series) Edited by D. N. Majumdar. Lucknow: The Universal Publishers Ltd., 1946. 87 pp. Rs. 3-12.

DOLLAR-A-YEAR AND WITHOUT COMPENSATION PERSONNEL POLICIES OF THE WAR PRODUCTION BOARD AND PREDECESSOR AGENCIES, AUGUST 1939 TO NOVEMBER 1945. By James A. McAleer (Historical Reports on War Administration: War Production Board, Special Study N. 27). Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947. 115 pp.

CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF SOUTHWEST GUATEMALA. By Felix Webster McBryde. (Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, Publication No. 4). Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947. 184 pp. 47 plates.

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY. By Meyer F. Nimkoff. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947. 767 pp. $5.00.

UNDERSTANDING SOCIETY. THE PRINCIPLES OF DYNAMIC SOCIOLOGY. By Howard W. Odum. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947. 749 pp. $5.00.

MAN THE ANIMAL. By Raymond Pearl. Bloomington, Indiana: Principia Press, Inc., 1946. 128 pp. $2.00.

COMMUNITY WISE. Compiled by Edna H. Porter. New York: The Woman's Press, 1947. 64 pp. $0.75.

A PROPOSED PUBLIC ASSISTANCE CODE OF ILLINOIS. Report of the Illinois Public Assistance Laws Com-

mission. Springfield, Illinois: Sixty-Fifth General Assembly of Illinois, 1947. 133 pp.

FIELD ADMINISTRATION OF WARTIME RATIONING. By Emmette S. Redford. (Historical Reports on War Administration, Office of Price Administration, General Publication No. 4). Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947. 196 pp. $0.40.

MARRIAGE IS ON TRIAL. By Judge John A. Sbarbaro, in collaboration with Ellen Saltonstall. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947. 128 pp. $2.00.

AN INTRODUCTORY STUDY OF THE FAMILY. By Edgar Schmiedeler. Rev. ed. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1947. 460 pp. $3.00.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN MEDICINE. AN INTERPRETATION OF THE SOCIAL AND SCIENTIFIC FACTORS INVOLVED. By Richard Harrison Shryock. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947. 457 & xv pp. $5.00.

ADMINISTRATIVE BEHAVIOR. A STUDY OF DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES IN ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION. By Herbert A. Simon. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947. 259 pp. $4.00.

FEUDAL AND EXTRA LEVIES IN ZAMINDARI AREAS. By K. G. Sivaswamy. Madras: The South Indian Federation of Agricultural Workers' Unions, 1947. 22 pp. Re, 1/- (paper).

LAND SPECULATORS AND ABSENTEE BUYERS IN THE TUNGABHADRA PROJECT AREA—FORMS OF STATE CONTROL IN MADRAS AND ABROAD. By K. G. Sivaswamy. Madras: South Indian Federation of Agricultural Workers' Unions, 1947. 52 pp. Rs. 2- (paper).

THE PRIMARY ORGANISATION FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT. By K. G. Sivaswamy. Madras: South Indian Federation of Agricultural Workers' Unions, 1947. 28 pp. Re. 1/- (paper).

SUB-TENANCY IN ZAMINDARI AREAS (Includes extracts of all Tenancy Acts in India). By K. G. Sivaswamy. Madras: South Indian Federation of Agricultural Workers' Unions, 1947. 78 pp. Rs. 2/- (paper).

THE FAMILY IN AMERICAN CULTURE. By Andrew G. Truxal and Francis E. Merrill. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947. 780 pp. $4.25.

THE POPULATION OF NEW MEXICO. By Paul Walter, Jr. and Ross Calvin. Albuquerque, New Mexico: Division of Research, Department of Government, University of New Mexico, 1947. 38 pp. $0.50.

PSYCHOLOGY IN LIVING. By Wendell White. New rev. ed. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947. 393 pp. $2.95.

REPORT ON THE GERMANS. By W. L. White. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1947. 260 pp. $3.00.

THE MINERS' CASE AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST. A DOCUMENTED CHRONOLOGY. By Edward A. Wieck. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1947. 92 pp. $0.50 (paper).

THE REDUCTION OF INTERGROUP TENSIONS: A SURVEY OF RESEARCH ON PROBLEMS OF ETHNIC, RACIAL, AND RELIGIOUS GROUP RELATIONS. By Robin M. Williams, Jr. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1947. 153 pp. $1.75. (Bulletin 57).

FÜHRER UND VERFÜHRTE. EINE ANALYSE DEUTSCHEN SCHICKSALS. By Hans Windisch. Leipsig, Germany: Heering Verlag, Seebruck am Chiemsee, 1946. 286 pp.

LEADERSHIP IN WAR AND PEACE. By Sanford Winston. Raleigh, North Carolina: Agricultural Experiment Station of the N. C. State College of Agriculture and Engineering. Special Publication 1, September 1946. 151 pp.

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